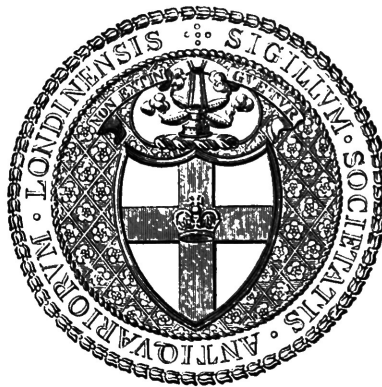# A New Decipherment of the Hittite Hieroglyphics

By R. Campbell Thompson, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries

Oxford

Printed by Horace Hart for the Society of Antiquaries of London

1913

I.—*A New Decipherment of the Hittite Hieroglyphs.* By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

§ 1. I HAVE ventured to lay before scholars a new system of decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions, based on a study of those already published, and those which were found during the season of 1911, when I was employed by the Trustees of the British Museum on the excavations at Carchemish. The Trustees have most kindly given me permission to quote from these new texts of 1911 as far as is necessary to prove my system of decipherment and grammar, even to the names of the petty chiefs which occur in them, and they have asked only that I shall refrain from discussing the historical side of their inscriptions, so that their own priority of publication at a later date be not anticipated. I wish therefore to thank them for a concession which I fully appreciate.

The new texts of 1911 from Carchemish do not differ outwardly to any great extent from those already known and published, for no bilingual was found. But a large and almost complete slab came to light inscribed with six lines of about six hundred closely-written Hittite characters, which ultimately formed the base of my decipherment, and after several months' work on it I came to the conclusion that there were several kings' names concealed therein. Such results as I have embodied in this article differ almost entirely from previous systems of decipherment, and, omitting the obvious ideograms, I can agree only with a few of Professor Sayce's values[1] out of his whole syllabary,

---

[1] All credit is due to him for and determinative for place-names: det. for 'god':

 in his suggested value, the god Teṣup ₍i cannot agree with 'Sandes'):

 s: his brilliant identification of the city-name spelt with Tyana (*PSBA.*, xxv, 1903, 179), although I differ slightly from him in his ultimate values, reading *T(a)-a-n(a)* : 'king', which Jensen held (*ZDMG.*, 48, 1894, p. 302) (which I prefer to translate

and with his translations hardly at all. But although I cannot often concur in his methods of decipherment, I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to all

---

'lord'): 'tree': perhaps , two numerals: 'bowl'. In he first saw the idea of making a treaty (*TSBA.*, vii, 1882, 276), which he altered later to 'to love' (*PSBA.*, xxv, 1903, 156) ; I believe that his former suggestion was nearer the truth, as I think it refers to the making of blood brotherhood (§ 87). In the two forms of he found the idea of 'great' or 'lord' (I believe it to be used as the plural of 'great', 'chief'); but unhappily his suggestion, made in 1882, that meant 'killing' or 'conquering' he changed to the incorrect one of 'power', a view which Rylands (*PSBA.*, xxi, 1899, 210) also held. may be, as he suggests, the ideogram for 'chief'. In , translated from the earliest period of decipherment as 'I (am)' or 'He says', Professor Sayce, I believe wrongly, ultimately (like Jensen and others) inclined to the former. He is nearly right, I believe, ultimately in calling *wa, ua* (properly *mi, wi*), and correctly sees in it the mark of the first person singular of the verb, although his example (which I read *kat-mi* 'I', the cuneiform *kattimi*, not a verb at all) is singularly unfortunate (*PSBA.*, xxiii, 1901, 95): he is nearly correct in with *is* (I believe it is *as*); on what I believe are incorrect grounds he obtained correct values for *nas* and *ar*, and on unsatisfactory evidence ultimately called *ar* (I believe it is *ir* with a 'tang'). (See his articles *PSBA.*, xxv, 1903 ; xxvii, 1905.)

Jensen, although we need not much concern ourselves with his system, rightly I think, recognized that meant 'lord' (*Hittiter und Armenier*, sign-list), and he very nearly lighted on what I hold to be a most valuable clue in seeing that   contained the name of Hamath, and even went so far as to explain the latter two characters as 'king', from a comparison with other texts, the whole reading according to him 'King of Hamath'. But he failed entirely to give syllabic values to the name of Hamath, saying that its first character might in some cases be a plural ending, and in the translations in *Hittiter und Armenier* he relinquished the view that this group meant Hamath (*ZDMG.*, 48, pp. 301 ff.: see also Messerschmidt, *Bemerkungen zu den Hett. Inschr.*, p. 15, who quotes him). Sayce also came close to seeing this, but his incorrect division of the signs in the inscription prevented him from identifying it, and I cannot agree in the least with his latest translations of the Hamath inscriptions (*PSBA.*, xxxiv, 1912, 217). Jensen was led astray, I think, entirely in seeing Syennesis in the name which I read *A-r-ar-a-s* (§ 12).

A word must be said for Menant (' *Eléments du Syllabaire hétéen*', *Acad. des. Inscr.* xxxiv, 1892) who saw in (which I believe to be *e*) a vowel *a* (p. 100); and Peiser saw in the division mark, and in the mark of an ideogram, according to Sayce, the plural (see, however, the sign-list at end of this article). Ball (*PSBA.*, x, 1888, p. 447) recognized in the proper name, which I believe to be Benhadad (§ 33, *note*), a royal name of which the first character was the god Dadi. W. H. Rylands (to whose energy much of the collection of Hittite material in the early days of the study is due) noted that ' on the shoulder of the [Mar'ash] lion at Constantinople is a human figure', which, unfortunately, he says formed no part of the inscription (*PSBA.*, ix, 1887, 375): nevertheless, it has been omitted in the copy

the work which he has done. During the last quarter of a century his labours have been indefatigable in securing new texts or accurate copies of the well-known inscriptions: if a new hieroglyphic or cuneiform text was discovered, he examined or published it whenever he could, and his lists of every possible

---

in Messerschmidt's *Corpus*. I do not think we need concern ourselves with the work of Conder or Gleye.

The greatest stumbling-blocks in the way of decipherment appear to have been the bilingual Boss of Tarkondemos, and two groups of hieroglyphs which occur several times in the Carchemish texts, in which has been recognized, I believe entirely erroneously, the name *Carchemish*, spelt variantly (a suggestion due to M. Six), and consequently to several characters were assigned values due to the supposed variants. Personally, I believe the latter part of these groups to contain the words *Nineveh* and *Assyria*, and that none of the phrases has anything to do with Carchemish at all (see § 51).

After the Society of Antiquaries had offered me the courtesy of hearing this paper read on November 21, 1912, Dr. Rusch, a German scholar, saw a brief notice of the meeting in the *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* of the January following. As he had been working on a system of his own during the same time as myself, he not unnaturally wished to draw attention to such claims as he might have to any priority of decipherment ; and to this end wrote to the President of this Society giving references to notices of his system, and sending to him a manuscript copy of his labours. I think that I can satisfy Dr. Rusch that our systems are so fundamentally different that one of us is wrong. His work is referred to in *Deutscher Reichsanzeiger*, 1911, No. 269; 1912, Nos. 38, 114 ; and by von Scala in *Internationaler Archaeologen-Kongress*, Okt., 1912. The following is the list of proper names which he has discovered in the hieroglyphs, according to the *Deutsch. Reichsanz.*, in a reference to a meeting of the Vorderas. Gesellschaft:—Lapa, Lupastius, Teschubis, Teschub-Tarchu, Teschupiha, Teschuputias, Targurtisar, Argurstis, Motarvu, Hatti-Teschub, Arha, Arrapa, Kisch, Kuti, Kararkarti, Patesi, Sutech, Tarchus, Maarsi, Sigur, Huchu, Motar, Gurtis, Gurtius, Sepasuvu, Tarmispa, Teschup, Tarchi-Hattis, Ischtar-Gurtis, Teschupgurtisicha, Archa, Haartichamis, Motargurtis, Aryatarpa, Hapagurti, Luku, Teschuparpas, Pasaas, Tarchumispas, Teschupas, Tarchusapasus, Teschupucha, Teschuptis, Tarchu-hattis, Argurmis, Gurtyas, Motaragurmis, Gurpas, Teteschup, Teschupgurtispas, Teschupicha, Teschupti-tarchurus, Arra, Hattisteschup, Teschuparra. From this list I think that it will be obvious that our two methods of decipherment have nothing in common, as only in one single word (the name of the god Tesup, long ago discovered) do we agree, and I hardly think it worth while to discuss his manuscript translations in which I cannot follow him. He goes so far as to adopt Professor Sayce's values for the signs for god, Tesup, 'land' (the double peak), s, the armed hand as *Krieg*, 'throne' (*Ehrenplatz*), and the ideographic value 'water', with the numeral nine, and the two (unused) numerals three and four, and in the second of the two numeral signs quoted in § 1, *note*, he sees '1000': the sign of the two legs running was given the possible meaning of 'to run' by Menant (*Eléments*, 1892, p. 105); and he sees in a number of obvious ideograms their picture values, such as the sign of the head with the tongue protruding, the ideographic meaning 'speak', the foot (I deny the leg) 'to go', and the Tesup-sign the lightning or serpent, in which I gladly concede to him any priority as far as I am concerned.

As far as I can see, the values for the remainder of his signs, which are liberally compared to both Egyptian hieroglyphs and Assyrian cuneiform signs, are different from mine. He has relinquished the view (I believe an erroneous one) that the larger figure at Ivriz is a god, but his attempt to read the name as ' Hatti-Tešub ' is impossible, for he includes the first word 'I am' as part of the name.

I have gone thus fully into Dr. Rusch's system because it is unpublished for the most part, and I wish to make it quite clear that we differ entirely.

In the following pages it will be found that the footnotes frequently give sign-values and transliterations for convenience sake before the evidence of such equivalents in the main body of the article has been reached.

kind of geographical or personal names or of Hittite cuneiform words have been invaluable.

§ 2. The materials available for the study of decipherment were (1) the two well-known bilinguals, the 'Boss of Tarkondemos' and the seal of Indilimma, which have been as much a stumbling-block as an aid to students; (2) the Hittite cuneiform literature, consisting of the two Arzawa letters and the tablets from Asia Minor [1]; (3) the hieroglyphic texts themselves. The two bilinguals had been thoroughly worked over by decipherers, and the only satisfactory values which were likely to be an aid were those given to ⬡⬡ and ⬡.

The Hittite cuneiform literature offers a far better starting-point. In this case, although the transliteration of the cuneiform signs is a comparatively easy matter, the translation is altogether another question: nevertheless one of the Arzawa letters has been made out with fair accuracy, and it is possible to recognize the same grammatical forms recurring in the transliteration of the few other tablets which have been published. As Professor Sayce has pointed out, particularly noticeable in these cuneiform texts, which are written about the fifteenth-fourteenth centuries B.C., is the undoubted adoption of Assyrian words, not only the Sumerian ideographs for 'king', 'son', 'city', &c., but simple words spelt out such as *pa-ni* 'before' (literally 'face'), *a-bi*, *ab-bi* 'father', *a-na* 'to', *i-na* 'in', and *ad-din* 'I gave' (§ 89).

§ 3. During the excavations of 1911 a stela was dug up which had been found in the excavations of thirty years before, and buried deeply so as to preserve it.[2] The sculpture on it represented a seated figure, and it was inscribed with Hittite hieroglyphics which had been first copied and published by Mr. St. Chad Boscawen, his copy being re-published by Messerschmidt in

---

[1] Abbreviations in this article: A i, A ii = the two Arzawa letters (see Knudtzon, *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe*: *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, 270 ff.). Al = Aleppo Tablet, Sayce, *PSBA.*, xxix, 1907, 91: B = Belck, *Anatolia*, ii: C = Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*: D = Sayce, *JRAS.*, 1908, 985: E = Sayce, 1907, 913: F = *ibid.*, the second tablet: G = Sayce, *JRAS.*, 1909, 974: H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, tablets published *ibid.* 963 ff. : Id. = Ideogram : Liv. = tablets published by Pinches, *Liverpool Annals*, vol. iii: M i, M ii, &c. = Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum*: Rams. = Ramsay, *PSBA.*, xxxi, 1909, 83 (an inscription on Kara Dagh): TA, Tel Ahmar = Inscription from Tel Ahmar, Hogarth, *Liverpool Annals*, ii. 165 (in many cases I have added emendations to his text from my hand-copy made from the actual stone while employed by the Trustees of the British Museum): Winckler = *Mitteil. d. Deutsch. Orient. Gesellschaft*, 1907, no. 35: Y = Sayce and Pinches, *The Tablet from Yuzgat* (*Royal Asiatic Society Monographs*, 1907): Z = some Hittite cuneiform tablets published by me in *PSBA.*, xxxii, 1910, 191: ZDMG. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

[2] Not 'left there to be destroyed', as Professor Sayce describes it (*PSBA.*, xxvii, 1905, 210).

his *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum*, pl. XV, B. In passing this daily on my way to the diggings I was attracted to the recurrence of an elaborate sign in the first line which runs [1]

It occurred to me that possibly this sign might from its first position be the second syllable in the name of the well-known Hittite king Sangar (preserved in the records of the Assyrian kings Aššurnaṣirpal and Shalmaneser), and in its second position the first syllable of the name Carchemish (in Assyrian Gargamiš). In this latter identification I was wrong, but in the former, I think, right, and my hypothesis, thus correct in identifying 'Sangar', proved ultimately to be accurate in its value for *gar* in both words.[2] By a happy coincidence I found the following similar groups in a phrase on the long inscription which I mentioned in § 1, which led me to believe that the hypothesis that they stood for Sangar of Carchemish was worth following up.

Now had always been supposed to be the sign of the Hittite nominative in -*s*, so that the two groups and (this second group beginning with ᴏᴄ, long recognized as a division-mark) might be supposed to end at *s*, as nominatives. On this assumption the second case gives ▯▯▯▯ -*gar-s*, and the first ▯▯▯▯ -*gar*- -*s*; clearly if the word were Sangar we could read ▯▯▯▯ = *san* easily in the second case; but how will that agree in the first, where takes the place of ▯▯▯▯, and the place of ?

§ 4. Egyptian grammar here, however, offers a clue, with its 'phonetic complements'; and on this assumption if ▯▯▯▯ and both = *san*, the second

---

[1] The Hittite hieroglyphs read *boustrophedon*, but for the convenience of the text I shall always write them beginning from the left.

[2] I did not recognize for a long time that the obvious reading for the last word was *San-gar-s*, and not *Gar-gam*(?)-*s*, the characters being arranged so as to please the eye. This second Sangar must have been grandfather of this Sangar who wrote the inscription, according to the ancient habit of calling a son after his grandfather.

may well be read either as (s)*san* or *san*(*n*): similarly if ⬚ and ⬚ both = *gar* we may well read the second as (*g*)*gar* or *gar*(*r*).

Now in the case of the group ⬚ [1] the last sign but one marks it as a place-name; hence from our hypothetical values (allowing *g* for the foot-character) we get ⬚ *Gar-g-?-s* + 'place'-? Clearly we have Gargamis here, the only sign wanting being the broken one.[2]

There are therefore the following values suggested:

▢▢▢▢ *san* [3]　　　　⬚ *gar* or *kar* [4]　　　　⬚ *n* or *s*　　　　⬚ *g* (*k*)

§ 5. Take next a group in one of the new Carchemish texts (reading it in its obvious order):

⬚　*i.e.*　⬚

This clearly is a place-name from the last character: the last but one is *s*, and the last but three is *g* or *k*: hence we get

?-?-*g*(*k*)-?-*s* + 'place'.

It is a reasonable hypothesis to see Gargamis again in this, and by reading *KA-R-G*(*K*)-*MI-S* obtain the following hypothetical equations:

⬚ = *k*(*g*)*a*,　⬚ = *r*,　⬚ = *mi*, with

⬚ = *g*(*k*) from the preceding section, and ⬚ *s* as before.

§ 6. The sign ⬚ is one of the commonest in the hieroglyphic texts: and just as ⬚ and ⬚ are both found, so are the parallels ⬚ and ⬚. Hence we shall not be far wrong if we see in ⬚ the addition of a vowel to ⬚, which we know to be a consonant; and as we already have ⬚ = *a* (from *Tyana*, § 1, *note*), the possibilities for the vowel are *e, i, u* (from the Hittite cuneiform). Similarly

---

[1] Or transpose these last two characters.　　　[2] This must be restored ⬚ *m*.

[3] With regard to *s* as distinct from *š*, the Hittite cuneiform in seven or eight hundred words shows barely a dozen certain cases of *s*: notably we find a word *sa-an*, A ii, 7. For the reason that so few cases occur I am for the present using only *s* in the hieroglyphs: for a discussion on this see § 90.

[4] For a third indication of the value of this character cf. *Gar-a-li*, i.e. קרל, § 11.

we should reasonably see in ⵣ the sign ⵑ with the vowel *e, i,* or *u* added, which is a step towards our suggested value *mi.*

Take the Ivriz sculpture of two figures facing each other, each with a short inscription close to it. That near the larger of the two figures begins

⬆ ⵁ ⊕ ⬆ [1]
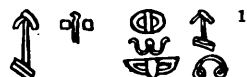
As was mentioned in § 1, ⊕ ⵯ ⵷ is the god Tesup, and hence we can define ⬆ ⵁ as a separate word. This is at once endorsed by the inscription near the second figure which begins similarly with the same two characters: so also does M xlvi ⵣ ⵯ⬆ .

The second group in this last phrase is to be found in the Hamath texts M iii, B 2: iv, A, 2: iv, B, 2, but whether it is really the same word or words is doubtful. To these we may add also M liii ⵣ ⵑ ⵻. Hence ⬆ ⵁ is a complete word.

To what shall we compare this word *mi-a* which can begin historical inscriptions, and is followed, once at least, by a divine or personal name? In many Oriental inscriptions (for instance, the Behistun rock) the customary words in such a place are 'I am'. Now in that misleading text, the Boss of Tarkondemos, Professor Sayce suggested that the first word *me-e* in the cuneiform legend, on the analogy of the Arzawa *-mi* 'my', should be translated 'I am'.[2] Hence, if my suggestion is right that we should expect the Ivriz hieroglyphs to begin 'I am', and if Professor Sayce is right in seeing 'I am' in the Hittite cuneiform word *me-e*, the hypothesis that the hieroglyphic word is *mi-a* 'I am' is so far reasonable, and we may be now fairly sure that ⬆

---

[1] M xxxiv (Nachtrag). My copy, made from the rock in 1909, is the same for *mi-*'; on the reading of the proper name see the translation at end.

[2] 'In spite of the strangeness of the expression I am inclined to see in *mê* ⵯ⵷ the Hittite first personal pronoun ' (*PSBA.* xxi, 1899, 204). For the cuneiform text on the 'Tarkondemos' Boss see translation at end, ' I am Targašša-?-wi '. Sayce was very nearly right in his final value *wa* or *ua* for ⬆ . Halévy considered ⵣ ⵑ as the signs for a vowel; Hommel (in his list of signs settled ' without any doubt', *PSBA.* xxi. 233) considered this correct; and Jensen also couples ⵑ ⵣ as 'à d.i. a und o (auch u ?)' (*Hittiter und Armenier,* sign-list). Sayce in *PSB.A.* xxiii. 99 held that ⵣ denoted the first singular of the verb, and consequently ' ⵑ will be *i* or *ya* '; this he altered to *wa* or *ua* in 1905 (*PSB.A.* xxvii. 245), but curiously read ⵑ as *was.*
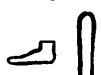
really has the value *mi*. It is unnecessary for me to give here the well-known cases of -*mi* = 'my' in cuneiform, which will be found in § 57.

We can then proceed further and say that as this sign is *mi*, then ┃ alone is *m*, and that it follows that just as ⍀ is *n* or *s*, so ⍀ will be *ni* or *si*.

As a corollary it seems probable that ⬚ has more the value of a helping vowel than *a* simply: ┃ ⬚ should be read perhaps *mi-'* rather than *mi-a*.

§ 7. We have now fair evidence that our group is a town ending in -*mis*, and our next point to prove is whether ⤵ really is *g(k)*. Consider, then, a group from the inscription on the bowl said to come from Babylon, or, as the British Museum labels it, from Abu Habbah (M i):

The sign ⏦ is clearly a 'bowl', as has long been known (§ 1, *note*), and the second group begins with the name for the god Tesup.[1] Although I can rarely agree with Professor Sayce, he has translated it 'this bowl for the god Sandes',[2] which seems to me to be very near the correct rendering (although I in no wise accept his transliteration ⤵ ┃┃ = '*w-i*'). The ideogram 'bowl' and the god's name give the distinct clue that the bowl was dedicated to the god, and if so, we shall probably find that ⊕ ⤵ means 'for the god Tesup',[3] making the necessary alteration in the translation of the god's name.

Now, by our hypothesis we should read this as 'God'-*Tesup-g(k)-n* or 'God'-*Tesup-g(k)-s*, and hence we must see in this *g(k)-n* or *g(k)-s* a post-positive preposition 'to' or 'for'.

Do the Hittite cuneiform texts throw any light on this, and does the word ⤵ ┃ occur often enough in the hieroglyphs to justify our supposing that it is such a common part of speech as a preposition?

Consider, then, the following passages from cuneiform tablets:—

(1) (W 19) AḪI-IA *ia-mu* [m]*Muttalli-iš a-aš-šu-uḫ-ta nu-mu-kan maḫ-an* NIŠÎ-*an-na-za* &c.

---

[1] An examination of the hieroglyphic texts will show that, in sense at least, the name may be written with or without the addition of ⏦.

[2] *PSBA.* xxvii, 1905, 192. His last rendering (*PSBA.* xxxv, 1913, 12) does not seem so good: 'this bowl, in the temple of Sandes (the god) of Atuna I have made.'

[3] The word following this group is distinct and well known, and is thus correctly separated.

(2) In the same text

ki-iš-ḫa-ḫa-at nu-mu AḤI-IA.

Now these two words *numu* and *numukan* are made up of the words *nu*, *mu*, and *kan*. *Nu* is undeniably 'to', for it is the first word of the cuneiform letter obtained at Aleppo *nu* *ame-lum-û ba-a-bi-ia* 'Unto *ame-lum-û*, my father' (Al. 1). It occurs constantly in Hittite cuneiform thus, to give only a few examples:—

nu-mu A i, 25 : A ii, 10. *nu-ut-ta* A i, 22, 28 : A ii, 19 : Y *r.* 12. *nu-uš*, Y 11, 15. *nu-uš-ši* A i, 14. *nu-uš-ša-an* Y *r.* 26. *nu wa-ra-at-mu* Y 4. *nu wa-ra-an* Y 23. *nu ma-aš-ta-an* Y 14. *nu* *ilu Za-ga-ga-an* Y 26. *nu a-bu-u-un-na* Y 28, 31. *nu ma-a-an* Y *r.* 11. *nu* *sal Su-gi* Y *r.* 37.

Next, *-mu* is undoubtedly a collateral to the *-mi* possessive of the Hittite cuneiform, and the *me-e* mentioned above; it occurs:

wa-ra-at-mu (A i, 18 : Y 4). *ia-mu* (Winckler 19). *ma-at-mu* (Winckler 19). *zi-ik-mu* (verb. imperative (?) with *-mu* A ii, 21). Possibly *ma-mu* (A i, 17).

We have, therefore, *nu-mu* 'to me', as well as *nu-mu-kan*, exact meaning uncertain until *-kan* is determined. Consider then:

(3) DÚ.LUGAL-*kan ṭaḫ-ḫi*... (F 7)(DÚ.LUGAL is the Assyro-Sumerian ideographic 'son of the king'): *ṭaḫḫi*.... is the same causative conjugation of *ṭa* 'to give' as *ṭa-a-ḫu-u-ut* ... (D 19): *ṭa-aḫ-ḫu-un* (Y *r.* 4): *ṭaḫ-ḫu-ṭa* (Y *r.* 18). This causative formation has long been recognized (see Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*: Sayce, Y, p. 50).

(4) MULU^{pl} *mar-diš* A-NA LUGAL-*kan* (N 1).

(5) M 3 begins ... LU-*kan bi-e-te-ir*.

(6) LUGAL-*za-kan* (Liv. ii, 7); LUGAL-*uš-za-kan* (Z i, 5); LUGAL-*uš-kan* (*ibid.*, 11).

(7) *ma-a-an-na-kan* (N 3).

Other examples are *ki-i-kan* (A ii, 14) ; ...*za-kan* (Z ii, 7) ; *-uš-ku-kan* (*ibid.*, 8) ; and the remarkable Assyro-Hittite phrase at the beginning of a letter (Z 1, 2) *ša-li-im i-ia-zi* ŠUM-*kan* 'there is peace unto me, &c.' Clearly then here is a recognized postpositive form *-kan*, which can be seen from (3) to mean 'unto' ('unto the son of the king cause to give'), which may be strengthened by an additional preposition affixed such as *nu*, or the Assyrian *ana* 'to'. Its nearest English equivalent is perhaps 'to-ward'. This so exactly coincides with the postpositive

that we need no longer have any doubt about = *g(k)* and = *n*.[1]

---

[1] postpositive occurs with and without suffixes many times in the Hittite hieroglyphs (see § 33, *note*: for examples without suffixes see e.g. M ii, 2: xxi, 4, 5; lii, 3; T.A 4, &c., in the

§ 8. Next, to show that ⊄⍟ = *ka*. It must be distinguished from the value of the foot-sign *k* in some way, and the distinguishing mark, the vowel, will be obvious from the following instances, and, although the proof of the value of this character would have been more obvious at a later stage of my thesis, I shall try to demonstrate it here. It will be clear, particularly from the translation of M xv B at the end of this paper, that in ⌷⌒⌬ *N-k-s*, the second word of the second quotation in § 3, we have a proper name. This name occurs in the same form in the inscription from which the first quotation in the same section is taken,[1] and hence we have it twice in the same connexion with Sangar on two different inscriptions. But more than this, in this latter inscription we also find ⌷ ⊄⍟⌒ ⌷ *N-ka-k-n*, i.e. *N-k-s* in an oblique case with our postpositive preposition *kan*: and this form *N-ka* occurs clearly as a personal name twice in M lii, 2 and 4 (from Mar'ash, see translations at end). Hence there is little doubt that ⊄⍟ represents *ka*, in a word of which the nominative ends *k-s*. I cannot identify this *N-k-s* with any name in the Assyrian inscriptions.

§ 9. To prove that 𝕼 = *r* must be done gradually throughout this article. The cumulative evidence of *K-r-a*, i.e. *Kirrî*, a chief of Kauai § 35); the name Assyria, *As-r-a*, varying with *As-ir* (§ 51); the king *A-r-ar-a-s*, Ariarathes (§ 12); *Adad-id*(?)*-r*, Benhadad (§ 33, *note* 4); our word *Ka-r-k-mi-s* above; the grammatical forms *s-r-a* 'they send', *t-e-r-a* 'they say' compared with the cuneiform *ša-ra-a* (§ 48) make it certain.

We can now proceed to a further decipherment of names.

There is a very important series of texts from Hamath or the neighbourhood. Three contain almost the same inscription (M iii B, iv A, iv B), which

---

translations at end.) ⌒ would appear to have the value of both *g* and *k*; for it can take the place of *g* in Sangar and Gargamiš (which, however, the Hebrews wrote Karkemiš), and it is used in the following phrases: *Ar-am ḥ K-as-k* 'Aram, chief of Kaškai' (§§ 24, 35); *K-r-a ḥ* in M xi, 4, 5, the chief Kirrî (§§ 27, 35): *K-a-u-a-u-i Kat-t-e* 'the Kauai of Katê' (§§ 27, 60), and in a new Jerabis inscription on which are mentioned several kings of the ninth century we find *K-a-k*, i.e. *Kâki* (§ 24, see § 87). On TA 4 *U-'m-k* (the place-name 'Amk) occurs: cf. M xxxii, 3, and *Am-k* on a new Jer. inscr., § 52 (5). Moreover the sign ⍟ *gar* is used to spell the first syllable of the chief's name קרל (M lii, 4), and hence we may consider that the distinction between *g* and *k* was not very great. In Egyptian, for instance, the word Carchemish could be spelt with △ *k* or ⌒ *k*. I shall therefore represent the Hittite symbol henceforth usually as *k* for the sake of simplicity.

[1] There are even traces of the diagonal mark which indicates a proper name (see § 17).

varies only in two places: two are longer texts (M vi continued by M v), and there is one more (from Restan, about 20 kilometres south of Hamath) published by Sayce, *PSBA.*, xxxi, 1909, p. 259. These texts all begin with the much-discussed group ⊕, a figure with its hand pointing to its face over ▯▯ ▯▯. This figure used to be held to mean either 'I (am)' or 'saith' by practically all decipherers[1]: but with the prior claim of our ⇡⬚ *mi-a* to the meaning 'I am', the sense of 'saith' at once becomes the probable one. Now in the Restan text and M vi after ⊕ come ⊞ ⬚ ⬚, while in M iii B, iv A, iv B, we have ⬚ ▯▯▯▯ ⊞ ⬚ (arranging it thus in order for convenience). Clearly we can mark ⊞⬚⬚⬚ and ⊞⬚⬚⬚ as the same word, the second being defined as a nominative ending in *s*. We know that ⬚ is *n(a)*, and hence we have a name, possibly of a ruler of Hamath, ending in *-na*.

Here again we must start with a hypothesis. Since we have now good grounds to suppose that an inscription from Jerabis (Carchemish) was written in the time of Sangar, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Hamath texts, which have many apparent points of similarity to those of Carchemish, may have been written about the same time. Supposing that this were so, and that the name which we are discussing is really a king of Hamath, we must needs apply the name Irḥulîna, who, as is well known from the inscriptions of Shalmaneser II, was a king of Hamath and an ally of Benhadad (Adad-idri) at this period. We are thus far to the good that the *n* of the last syllable is represented by ⬚ *n(a)* in our word.

---

[1] E.g. Sayce (*TSBA.*, vii, 1882, p. 278) thought that ⊕ implied to speak or say, but later considered that it='I', though with much to be said in favour of 'he says' (*PSBA.*, xxi, 1899, p. 213). Hommel held that Menant was correct in making ⊕ 'I (1st sing.) (resp. ⊕ ▯▯▯▯ 'I am')' (cf. his list, *loc. cit.* 233). Messerschmidt inclined to 'I' and not 'he says', as Peiser would have it (*Mitteil. der Vorderas. Gesellsch.*, 1898, 6): but in *The Hittites*, 1903, 28, he admitted both possibilities. Jensen (*Hittiter und Armenier*, sign-list) also considered it 'I'. For reasons stated later I hope to show that the meaning 'I' is impossible, and that 'say' is the probable one. In its usage a cursory examination shows that there is not much apparent difference in the sense of (*a*) ⊕, (*b*) ⊕ ▯▯▯▯, or (*c*) ⊕ ⬚ ▯▯▯▯, and we may regard the additions as auxiliaries. This is discussed in § 74.

For the purposes of our hypothesis, divide the name *Ir-ḫu-li-na* syllabically, like San-gar, and apply it to the hieroglyphs :

     Ir   *ḫu*   *li*   *n(a)*

Do any of the first three characters appear elsewhere with these values ?

§ 10. Take ir first. A study of Hittite cuneiform grammar shows that final *-ir* is used to express one of the persons in a verbal conjugation : for instance, the common root *pa* shows the form *pa-a-ir* (Z ii, 9 : Y 22); *a-ki-ir* (Y 32, 33, 35)[1] is probably a verb; and similarly *bi-e-te-ir* (M 3).[2] As it seems reasonable to suppose, *-ir* is therefore a fairly common verbal termination, and if we could find words supposed to be verbs in the hieroglyphs constantly ending in it would go far to show that = *ir*.

Consider, then, the word or which occurs several times in the hieroglyphs. We have already met it in the dedicatory inscription on the bowl (§ 7), and it also occurs on a new Jerabis inscription,[3] and in M viii, A, 3 : xxiii, A, 2 : xlviii, 2. This word is made up of *a*, *d(a)* or *ṭ(a)*, and what is uncommonly like our sign without the little stroke in the middle.[4] If this is a verb *a-ṭ(a)-ir* it would certainly seem as though we had found the Hittite cuneiform root *ta* 'give', which has long been known, and compares with the Indogermanic root in δίδωμι. (The forms found are : *a-TA-an-zi*, G 16 : *TA-t-a-i*, Y r. [25], 26, 27, [28], 30, 34, 35, [36], 42, 47, 48 : [B 14 (?)] : C vi, 12 : D 11, 18, 20; E 7, 12, 15, [16] : K 1, 9 : *TA-a-e* C ii, 3 : *TA-a-an-zi* E 1 : *TA-an-zi* D 6, r. 10 : E 8 : *u-TA-an-zi* A i, 22 : causative, *TA-a-ḫu-u-ut* . . D 19 : *TA-aḫ-ḫu-un* Y r. 4, [5] : *TA-ḫ-ḫu-ta* Y r. 18). This supposition becomes at once practical when the value 'give' is applied to the verb in the bowl-inscription 'a bowl + *n(a)* unto the god Tesup *n-m-n-* √give'. We have thus fair evi-

---

[1] The text runs : (32) . . . *wa* ᵢˡᵘ*Gul-aš-ša-an* ᶦˡᵘ*Mah ḫal-zi-iš-tin šum-ku-wa a-bi-e a-ki-i*[r] (33) . . . *e-ia im-ma* *a-ki-ir mu-me a-bi-e-el um* BĀBU-*aš ḫa-aḫ-ḫi-ma* . . . (34) . . . *ḫa-aḫ-ḫi-ma-aš* ᶦˡᵘ*IM-ni te-iz-zi ku-u-ši-wa bi-iš-ša-at-ti* . . . (35) . . . *-ši ḫu-u-ma-an-te-eš a-ki-ir mu-me ki-i-ni* GAL-*ri* . . .

[2] The text runs: *LU-kan bi-e-te-ir* . . .

[3] Another instance of this final *-ir* in the hieroglyphs is IC = : *a-* √*-ir* (M xxxii, 5). occurs in M xxxii, 2, 4, and in xxxiii, 2, 6, and if be the root, then we can add this example to our list (on this question see translation to M ix, 3, *note*, at end).

[4] For full proof see § 15. In order not to make matters too complicated, it is shown in § 17 that this little stroke or tang is frequently added to characters to show that a proper name is indicated.

dence that ⟨glyph⟩ = *ir*, and ⟨glyph⟩ is only this character with a tang added to denote a proper name.[1]

§ 11. The third sign ⟨glyph⟩, by our hypothesis *li*, occurs on the seal M xli, 1, where the characters read ⟨glyphs⟩ (this last character may be meant to be read before the *n(a)*). The first god-name is Tesup: the second occurs constantly in proper names (M i; ix, 2, 4; x, 1, 3, &c.). It is customary for a Babylonian seal inscription to contain the name of its owner and the god of whom he considers himself the worshipper, and we may naturally consider that the same holds good in Hittite, so that the patron deity here is Tesup, and that the owner's name begins with a god's name and ends with *n(a)-a-li-s*, or, having regard to the possible position of *s*, perhaps *s-n(a)-a-li*. This word *nâli* occurs in the name *Tar-ga-aš-na-al-li*, in one of the texts found by Winckler at Boghaz Keui (W 19) *mâtu âlu Ḥa-pal-la-ma a-na ᵐTar-ga-aš-na-al-li ad-din* 'the land of Ḥapallama unto Targašnalli I gave'. As Targu or Tarḫu[2] is a well-known Hittite god, it is not unreasonable to suppose that we have here on our seal the name Targašnâli, the king to whom Ḥapallama was given. Where the seal actually came from is doubtful.

Another proof of *li* comes from a name in M lii, 4 ⟨glyphs⟩., as our values would show, *Gar-a-li ni IX-a*-⟨glyph⟩. The 'IX' (who appear elsewhere) are frequently an indication that a chief's name precedes; the phrase usually is 'So-and-so, a chief (&c.) of the Nine'. Hence Garali is a chief's name, and as Ḳaral קרל is known as the father of Panammu, a king of Ia'di (who also occurs

---

M xvi A shows a verb ending with an animal's head, but it is not quite clear whether this is -*u* or -*ir* (§ 50, 6). Incidentally, I should add that further proof that ⟨glyph⟩ = *ir* will be found in the place-name *as-ir*, which varies with *as-r-a* (=Assyria, § 51).

[2] Knudtzon, *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe*, 1902, p. 19, gives the following list of names in which this god-name occurs: Tarkondemos, Tarkondimŏtos, Tarkodimantos, Tarkuaris, Tarkumbiou (*gen.*), Trokoarbasios, Trokozarmas, Trokokombigrĕmis, (T)arkiônin, Tarkundberran, Tarkondarios, Das-tarkon (a fortress in Kataonia), Lycian Trqqas, Trqqiz, Trqqñta, Trqqñti, Trqqñtasi, &c. As is well known, *Tarḫu* in Tarḫulara (the prefect of Gurgum or Markasa, *WAI.* ii, 67, 45, 58: iii, 9, 52; B.M. tablet, K 1660) is the same god.

in Hittite, § 28), from the Sinjerli inscriptions, we may consider that this identification of the two names is sound.

§ 12. On ꗦ = *ḫu* I must refer the reader to § 38, as that section is the most fitting for more proof of this value: I think, however, that the discovery of *Ḫunu* and *Ḫuni*, the forms of a personal name quoted in § 37, *note*, very probably the same as the Assyrian form *Aḫunu*, the chief of Bît-Adini, is conclusive. Moreover, I now come to a variant form of Irḫulîna's name on the large inscription from Jerabis, which mentions Sangar's name. This new form is written
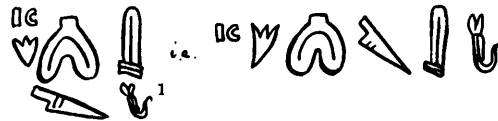
This word begins a new sentence, and (when the full text is published) it will obviously be seen to be a proper name. The three middle characters we know are -*ḫu-li-ni*: the first must therefore be some compound of -*r*. Professor Sayce gave to ⊂𝔭 (which is possibly the same as our character here) the value *ar* on the grounds that it was part of the place-name Argana in M iv, A, 2, which I think is incorrect: the value *ar* for our character is, however, probably correct, as may be seen from the name of the king of Tyana[2]. This name Professor Sayce in *PSBA.*, xxv, 1903, 192 read A-m-ar-a-s, very nearly correctly, but he unfortunately rejected his first value *ar* for another (*gal*), and read it next as Aumgalas (*PSBA.*, xxvii, 1905, 200), and finally (*PSBA.*, xxxiv, 1912, 270), as Ayminyas. My reading would make it *A-r-ar-a-s* (using our hypothesis for *r* from § 5), which can at once be compared with Ariarathes, the Greek form of a name of several kings of Cappadocia, the first one known to us from Greek sources living about the middle of the fourth century B.C.

These two examples go far to prove the value *ar*: a third, and most convincing one, is the name of Arame, spelt Ar-am, 'chief of Kask' (§ 35). We have thus proved the names Irḫulîna, Arḫulini, and have additional evidence for 𝔅 = *r* from Ariarathes.

---

[1] I question the correctness of my copy of this character (*zi*) from the stone; if I were copying it again I should look for ⟋⟍ or less probably ⬚. I believe the form Arḫulini is also to be seen in M lii, 2, concealed in ⬚⬚⬚⬚ (reading *ḫu* for the second syllable).

[2] M xxxiii, 1: cf. xxxi, C, 3: xxxii, 1, 2, 3: xxxiv, A, B, C.

§ 13. Having now found the name of the king of Hamath, the next problem should be to find the name of Hamath itself. The Assyrian cuneiform texts give the beginning of this word as *Am-* or *Ham-*, so that we may look for a weakened initial breathing. As we know that ▲ and ▲▲ are the postpositive signs of a place-name, we should be able to see the name Hamath in these Hamath texts in the groups

(1)   M iv A, B, 1, and partly on M iii, B, 1.

(2)   Restan.

(3)   M vi, 1.
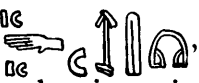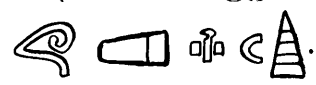
Obviously these groups are too long for 'Hamath .[2]

But all three are clearly forms of the same group. Obviously the character of (1) is only an abbreviation of the ram's head of (2) and (3). This is a very important point, endorsed by the two large Mar'ash inscriptions M xxi and M lii, where the place-name mentioned in each near the beginning is given respectively under the two forms (xxi) and

(badly written, but distinguishable in Messerschmidt's copy) (lii). Moreover, the group of M vi, 3 (bis) will ultimately be seen to be the same as in M xi, 2 (§ 28). Since = as an abbreviation, we may well expect to find other animals' heads in similar abbreviations, a broad question to which we shall return later (§ 15).
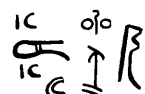
§ 14. Having thus settled that all three groups are merely variants of the same phrase, it remains to split them up into their component parts. An examination of the hieroglyphic texts generally will show that a group of signs

---
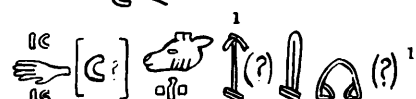
[1] Emend thus, instead of *ir.*   [2] See note to § 1.

very much like [glyphs], the first part of (1), (2), and (3), occurs constantly, no matter where the inscription may have come from; that is, that they are some word or words having nothing to do with 'Hamath', and consequently if the name 'Hamath' is here at all it is concealed (as was suggested many years ago, only to be rejected, § 1, *note*) in [glyphs]. These passages are:

(*a*) Hamath, M iii, B 1 : iv, A, B, 1 : M vi and Restan.   See § 13.

(*b*) Kirtschoglu, M vii, 1 [glyphs]

(*c*) Malatia, M xvi, 1 [glyphs] [1]
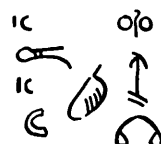
(*d*) Malatia, M. xlvii [glyphs] [2]

(*e*) Bulgarmaden, M xxxii, 1 : Bor, M xxxiii, 2 : Mar'ash, M xxi, 1 : M lii, 4 (two of these must be restored thus, the obvious characters being obliterated):

[glyphs]
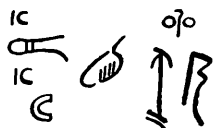
(*f*) Mar'ash, M lii, 1 [glyphs] &c.

(*g*) Agrak (M xxxi); the Bogtcha stele (M li) [glyphs]

(*h*) Tel Ahmar (1) [glyphs]

---

[1] An examination of the photograph in Hogarth's article in *Recueil de Travaux*, xvii. 25, shows that these are possible readings.

[2] The difference between this group and the others is so marked that it would be safer to collate it before laying too great stress on it.   Compare, however, no. (*h*) further on.

(*i*) Tel Ahmar (4)

(*j*) Tel Ahmar (5)

(*k*) New Jerabis
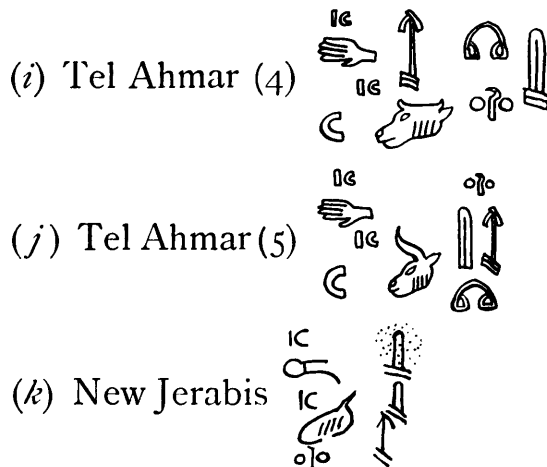
Here are nineteen cases with very little variation, beginning with a hand outstretched, the sign being marked as an ideogram by the division-sign before and after.

§ 15. Several deductions can be made from a comparison of these groups :—

(1) The ox's head in the form ⌇ of (*f*) and probably (*c*) is represented by the form ⌇ in (*k*) and (*i*), and by ⌇ in (*j*): it becomes abbreviated to ⌇ (emended)[1] in one case in(*a*),and still further to the linear ⌇ in (*c*), (*g*), and (*k*). This equation

$$ ⌇ = ⌇ = ⌇ = ⌇ = ⌇ $$

is of the greatest importance, not only because of the reading of the words in which such variant forms occur, but because it will throw light on the origin of ⌇ *ir*. For, since the ox's head takes the forms ⌇ = ⌇ = ⌇, and the ram's head ⌇ = ⌇, we can at once admit the probability of the form ⌇, linear ⌇ *ir*, as the abbreviated forms of the unhorned calf's head ⌇ of M ii, 7, M ix, 3, M x, 1, M xv, B, 3, M xvi, 1 (?).

(2) The ⌇ of (*b*), (*e*) varies with the ⌇ *n-s* of (*a*), (*f*), (*h*), (*j*), and the ⌇ *ni-s* of (*c*), (*i*). Hence ⌇ = *nis*. Jensen thought that this marked the

---

[1] This emendation of the form of this character in this passage (Restan 1) is proper from the forms shown in other Hamath texts, e.g. M iv, A 2: B, 2: vi, 2: and the variations in the Mar'ash texts, M xxi, 4, lii, 4.

nominative case, and therefore ended in -*s*; Professor Sayce quotes him, noticing at the same time that it interchanges in M xxi with the 'goat's head' (*PSBA*. xxv, 1903, 173) ('we must assign to it the values of either *s, is, yas*, or *as*').

(3) The variant ℂ = ⬩ (remarked by Sayce from the Babylon inscription, *PSBA*. xxiii, 1901, 99) is made certain by these groups : the ℂ of (*a*), (*b*), (*e*), (*g*), (*h*), (*i*), (*j*) is replaced by ⬩ in (*f*). This is endorsed by the evidence of the variants given in § 16, and the following comparisons :—

M xxi, 1 ⬩ with M lii, 1 ⬩ and M ii, 1 (the Babylon text) ⬩; and M iii, B, 3 ⬩ with M ii, 1 ⬩ and 4 ⬩.

§ 16. But our present need is to show that, as in our Hamath texts, we have a group beginning constantly with ⬩, and differing only slightly in its other characters. Hence we may remove this group bodily from our Hamath group (§ 13), leaving the last five characters ⬩ ⬩ ⬩ ℂ ⬩ to represent the word 'Hamath'.
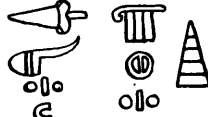
Now Professor Sayce's identification of Tyana in ⬩ ⬩ ⬩ ⬩ ⬩ ℂ ⬩ (Bor, M xxxiii) has given us the value of *d*(*a*) or *t*(*a*) for ⬩ (he considers it *tu*), marking also the final group ⬩ ℂ ⬩, which is only our ⬩ℂ of the Hamath texts with a case-ending (and, of course, the postpositive 'place'). If this ⬩ ℂ (⬩)² is a constant at the end of place-names, we can then see the word Hamath in our group ⬩ ⬩ ⬩ ℂ ⬩ composed simply of the two signs ⬩ ⬩.

With the view of eliminating this ⬩ℂ(⬩) I append several place-names for comparison :
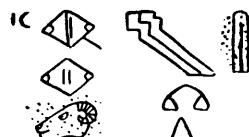
(1) ⬩ ℂ ⬩ (M iii, B, 2).

---

[1] I see that I have accidentally omitted the small 'tang' to the character III here.

[2] Professor Sayce thought that it indicated the adjectival termination, but, as will be seen from § 39, this is impossible.

(2) [hieroglyphs] (a similar passage to (1) in M iv, A, 2).

(3) [hieroglyphs] (M iv, B, 2).

(4) [hieroglyphs] (M xxi, 1), for which M lii, 1 gives [hieroglyphs]

In these, as is obvious, although they are decidedly names of different places, [glyph] occurs in all with various terminations, and another noteworthy point is that in (4) [glyph] varies with [glyph], as is shown in § 15 (3).

Hence [glyph] has nothing to do with the actual spelling of the root-letters of 'Hamath' in our group, and we may be satisfied that if 'Hamath' does occur on the first line of the Hamath inscription M iv, A, B, vi, it will be spelt with the two signs [glyph] [glyph].

Now we already know that [glyph] = $d(a)$ or $t(a)$, and hence, if there is anything in our theory, the ram's head [glyph] with its abbreviation [glyph] will be *Ham*, *Am*, or *Ḥam*. In order to prove this it will be necessary to take a longer cast, and turn to the large new inscription from Jerabis.

§ 17. This inscription, as we have already seen (§§ 3, 12), contains the names of Sangar and Irhulina. A further examination convinced me that there were many more kings' names on it, and I shall now discuss them.

If the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions be carefully examined it will be seen that certain groups are indicated by a stroke, frequently diagonal [glyph], placed in front. More particularly is this so in places where we should expect a proper name, i.e. after the first or second word. For instance, Mar'ash, M xxi,

begins [hieroglyphs] (and [hieroglyphs] is thus represented twice more in this inscription)[1];

as we saw in § 3, the name Sangar is also marked by [glyph],[2] and again in l. 2 of the

---

[1] The first figure is to be seen on the lion in the cast in the Museum (see note to § 11.

[2] From this (slightly obscure) diagonal [glyph] it is clear that the first part of this word is not to be

same inscription we find [glyph]. In M ii the first words are "[glyphs]".

On the other hand, in the Mar'ash inscription M lii, which begins in a similar manner to M xxi (also Mar'ash), quoted above, and M xvi, A, the ◊ appears to be left out from [glyph]. This sign ◊ is therefore not a necessity, but where it does occur we can at once suspect a proper name.

But this sign added to proper names throws a new light on certain small tangs which are found affixed to certain characters, as has been suggested in the sign *ir* in Irḥulina. The name of the king of Tyana, [glyphs] *A-r-ar-a-s* (M xxxiii, 1, &c.) begins with *A* + 'tang': Tyana itself is written with its first character [glyph], i.e. *T(a)* + 'tang'. In M iii, B, 2 [glyphs] is a place-name; so also [glyphs] &c., in the Mar'ash inscriptions (M xxi, xxiv, xxv, lii). These are definite examples of both place- and personal-names, and with this clue it will be easy to recognize the position of a certain number of names in the inscriptions.[1]

§ 18. Proceeding with this tang-clue, we may examine the text on the lion-hunt slab from Malatia (M xvi, A). This begins

[glyphs]

i.e. *mi-ni-a* (or ') [　] *li-e-ni,* [glyph], [glyph] 'tang'-s [glyph] 'tang'-s. Whether the first

---

compared (as Sayce took it to be) with [glyph], the word ordinarily placed second after [glyph] at the beginning of inscriptions.

[1] It must, however, be noted that in certain cases characters marked by a tang do not denote a proper name, but in some respect call attention to it, and apparently the tang sometimes indicates a vowel sound.

[2] I would suggest, in spite of the evidence afforded by M xvi, c (Menant) and the Malatia inscription published by Sayce (*PSBA.* xxvi, 1904, 23; see M xlvii), both of which read [glyph], that we should read [glyph] *ḫu* here, making the whole [glyph]-*ḫu-li-e-ni,* and providing some value **r* for [glyph], so that the whole may represent Irḥulini. Two of the other kings at least in this inscription are known to be his contemporaries from the hieroglyphic texts. At the same time this is only a suggestion until we have a certain value for the first character: for another possibility see p. 112. On *e* see § 46.

king be Irḫulîni or not, it is clear that his name is followed by three other names, the first a most famous and ubiquitous one , well known from the 'Babylon' inscription M ii; Aleppo, M iii, A; Hamath, M iii, B: here in Malatia; Mar'ash, M xxi, lii; and in the long inscription from Jerabis. The king marked by is found in a new Jerabis inscription, and -s occurs in the Tel Ahmar inscription (l. 4) as . We have thus the names of four contemporary kings.

§ 19. The first word *minia* or *mini'* calls for a remark. We have seen (§ 6) that- *mi-*', the probable equivalent of the *me-e* on the 'Tarkondemos' Boss, followed by a (king's) name, means ' I (am)': there need then be little hesitation in translating *mini'* as 'we (are)', since four names follow. It occurs here, and in the two others from Malatia, where the kings' names differ considerably, M xvi, c &c., and Sayce, *PSBA.*, xxvi, 1904, 23 (M xlvii) , &c.

We have, therefore, several names, many of which will be found to occur elsewhere, and all contemporary, dating from the ninth century B.C. What is also important is that an inscription may contain several names (all presumably kings or chiefs) together, to which I would draw attention, because it is a clue to the reason for the existence of so many Hittite inscriptions, which will be seen to relate to alliances between the various chiefs. It so happens by good fortune that our knowledge of the names of the petty kings who ruled the lands near Carchemish at the time of Sangar and Irḫulîna is extremely good, and, at the risk of being prolix, I think it is an apt place to give a brief *résumé* of the history of this period as we find it in the cuneiform records of Aššur-naṣirpal and Shalmaneser.[1]

§ 20. Little definite is known of the history of Assyria during the period after the great conqueror Tiglath-Pileser I (*c.* 1100 B.C.) until the first quarter of the ninth century when Aššurnaṣirpal came to the throne. Little by little apparently the lands conquered by his fathers had seceded from the Assyrian

---

[1] I am indebted for much of this historical sketch to Maspero's *Passing of the Empires*, where an excellent and full account of the conditions prevailing in the Hittite lands in the ninth century is given.

empire, and on his accession he found a diminished kingdom, with its boundaries contracted to a small compass. To his energy is due the regeneration of his country and the expansion of the Assyrian empire, which was to attain more than its pristine glories under the next king Shalmaneser II.

Aššurnaṣirpal's first campaign was directed against the districts north-west of Assyria, even as far as the sources of the Tigris; the next campaign in this same year was pressed still further westwards as far as Kummuḥ (Commagene)[1] and Mushku. The news of these successes spread abroad, and in consequence many of the neighbouring tribes sent to pay homage; the Laḳî (supposed to be principally on the right bank of the Euphrates between the Khabur and the Balikh), Ḥaianu, king of Ḥindanu (in Shalmaneser's time there is a Ḥaianu, king of Samal); in the next year the Suḥi on the Euphrates sent their chief Iluibni to Nineveh with gifts. But a revolt in the north-west again broke out, and Aššurnaṣirpal again marched to the sources of the Tigris and punished the rebels. After this success he received the homage of the neighbouring princes, including Amme-baal[2] of Bît-Zamani; at Ardupa he took tribute from one of the Hittite kings. As Maspero says (p. 21), in less than three years the Assyrian king had forced the marauders of Naîri and Kirḥi to respect his frontiers.

§ 21. It was next in 880 that he took the field against the north-west, receiving as usual at first the tribute of Kummuḥ. It was at this unfortunate hour that the people of Bît-Zamani, not caring for the Assyrian tendency of their chief Amme-baal, murdered him, and set Bur-Ramânu on the throne; the Assyrians avenged his death, flayed Bur-Ramânu, appointed Ilânu his brother to succeed him, and mulcted the inhabitants in an enormous tribute.

This increase in power in the Assyrian state led the tribes to the west again to give trouble, and the two chief tribes, the Suḥi and Laḳî, made overtures for help to Babylon. But, although help was given, in the end the Assyrian arms triumphed, and the Suḥi and Laḳî were defeated, being pursued for two days as far as the frontiers of Bît-Adini, the state which lay between the Balikh and the Euphrates, as far north at least as Tel Ahmar, the ancient Til Barsip.[3] From this date onward for a quarter of a century the Assyrians had

---

[1] For the latest evidence of the position of Kummuḥ, see L. W. King, *PSBA.*, xxxv, 1913, 73.

[2] Am-me-ba-'-la, the son of Zamani. The name appears to be Semitic. This *Amme* may well be the same as in Pan-ammu, the name of two kings of Sam'al (Sinjerli) some distance west of Bît-Zamani (cf. Heb. עַמִּיאֵל, the father of Bath-Sheba, 1 Chron. iii. 5). Hence Amme-ba'al may mean 'Amme is (my) lord', just as Pan-Ammu would mean 'Face of Ammi' (cf. the Phoenician phrase פ בעל and the Heb. name פְּנוּאֵל).

[3] Thanks to the kindness of the Trustees of the British Museum I was allowed to publish one of the results of an expedition on which they sent Mr. T. E. Lawrence and me from Carchemish to

to reckon with Aḫuni the *shêkh* of this land of Bît-Adini, a recurrent enemy who was in touch with the many Hittite states, and held the approaches to Carchemish from the East, one of the great main roads to the sea. Yet Aśśur-naṣirpal wasted no time in securing a certain measure of homage from him : he invaded his territory in 877 B. C., and received tribute from him after a sanguinary encounter.

§ 22. It was in 876 that, having again received tribute from Bît-Baḫiâni, Azalla, and Bît-Adini, the Assyrian king came face to face with the loose-knit Hittite power which had been uneasily watching the gradual ascendance of a foe who had been scotched for two hundred years. Carchemish was its eastern outpost, a citadel built on a high mound abutting on the Euphrates, with the landward side enclosed by a widespread rampart; a palace lay at the southern foot of the mound. The citadel itself covered the top of the mound, with its main postern in the middle, where the dip still shows where the road of cobbles and pebbles ascended to the gateway; Shalmaneser portrayed it two or three times on his bronze gates at Balawat. Yet this outpost, although apparently solid behind its river defences, had never withstood the foe from the east, and well might the little states of mountain and plain, even down to great Damascus, grow timorous at the growth of the great robber. Indeed, Isaiah's vivid utterance of the paralysing terror of his approach marks what all these petty nations must have felt at any time from now down to the end of the seventh century : ' He is come to Aiath, he is passed to Migron ; at Michmash he hath laid up his carriages : they are gone over the passage : they have taken up their lodging at Geba; Ramah is afraid; Gibeah of Saul is fled. Lift up thy voice, O daughter of Gallim : cause it to be heard unto Laish, O poor Anathoth. Madmenah is removed; the inhabitants of Gebim gather themselves to flee.'

At any rate, this expedition of Aśśurnaṣirpal to the land of the Hittites came apparently in the nature of a surprise, for none of these independent states gave serious trouble to the conqueror, most of them yielding at once on sight of his army, and paying tribute without further ado. It was an extraordinary progress. Sangar of Carchemish preferred discretion to fighting, and gave the Assyrian king great gifts, besides sending Carchemishian chariots, cavalry, and infantry with the Assyrian host. Aśśurnaṣirpal pressed forward to Ḥazaz, an outlying city belonging to Lubarna, took tribute from it, and crossed the Ifrîn, moving on Lubarna's capital Kunulua. Lubarna imitated Sangar,

---

Tel Ahmar, a copy of the fallen lions inscribed in cuneiform which Mr. Hogarth had seen on his visit there. The inscription thereon shows beyond a doubt that Til Barsip was Tel Ahmar, and not Birejik (see *PSBA.*, xxxiv, 1912, 66).

and bought himself off with gifts and service; Aššurnaṣirpal made the city Aribua his base, whence he was able to punish the recalcitrant tribes of Luhuti and ultimately continue his triumphant march to the Mediterranean. He washed his weapons in the Great Sea, and actually received the tribute of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Mahalata, Maiṣa, Kaiṣa, Amurru, and Arvad. It was a great feat, and one which was to have a far-reaching effect on the Near East.

The sixteen remaining years of his life were marked only by one campaign in 867 (to the north of Assyria), and the first part of his march was spent in gathering the usual tribute from the districts of Kipani, Ṣalla, Ašša, and Kummuh. Thence he moved by Ašša and Kirhi to the hostile districts of Adani, and after much fighting reached Amida, and ultimately returned home. He died in 860, and his son Shalmaneser II (Šulmanu-ašarid) succeeded him.

§ 23. It cannot be supposed that the inhabitants of Syria, Palestine, and Cilicia were willing to sit down with folded hands and accept quietly the situation which was forced on them by Aššurnaṣirpal's daring raid. True, they had, as far as we can see now, been caught napping, and each one of them had been compelled to yield in turn before ever they could combine in the usual Hittite fashion against the common foe. For the Hittites had always loved the making of alliances; it was the one safeguard which these heterogeneous states possessed either to protect themselves against bullies such as Egypt or Assyria or to mete out punishment to troublesome neighbours. Ever since the days of Rameses II, when the Egyptians made alliance with Khetasar, prince of the Hittites, they had recognized the principle of union.[1] The Assyrian raid of 876 gave the necessary impetus, and for sixteen years the kings and princes of the lands of Northern Syria and Palestine made their preparations quietly for defensive alliances against Assyria.

§ 24. The storm burst when Shalmaneser ascended his father's throne in 860. First he was compelled to attack Ninni of Simesi, and thence he assailed Kâki (or Kakia) of Hubuškia or Nairi, pressing as far as Sugunia, a fortress belonging to Arame, the king of Urarṭa. Only a little while later came the beginning of his Syrian wars, when he set forth again from Nineveh westwards against

---

[1] An interesting example of this is found on the Aramaic stele discovered somewhere in these regions by Pognon (where exactly he will not reveal) and published by him in *Inscr. Sem.*, p. 158. It is a stele written by Zakir, king of Hamath and לעש, who describes his fight against ' Bar-Hadad, the son of Hazael, king of Aram ' who had united against him the following coalition: ' Bar-Hadad and his army and Bar-Ga's and his army, the king of Kaweh (Kauai) and his army, the king of 'Amk (Assyrian Unki) and his army; the king of Gurgu[m] and his army, the king of Šam'al and his army, the king of Malaz (Malatia) and his army.' Noticeable is it that Kummuh is not mentioned.

Aḫuni of Bît-Adini, who had now joined one of the great alliances formed by the kings of those of the Hittite and Syrian states which lay nearest Assyria. After a preliminary skirmish with Aḫuni, whose country on the east of the Euphrates was naturally the first to withstand the Assyrian onset, Shalmaneser pushed on to the Euphrates, after receiving the tribute of Ḫapini of Til-abna, Ga'uni of Sar[u] . . ., and Giri-dadi of Ašša. He crossed the river, and received his usual tribute from Katazilu of Kummuḫ, a country always subservient at this period to the Assyrians, and captured several of Aḫuni's towns on the west of the Euphrates. He went as far as Gurgum, where the king Mutallu paid tribute and sent his daughter into the Assyrian harem,[1] and then encountered the allied forces under Ḫaianu of Samal, Sapalulme of Patin, Aḫuni, and Sangar of Carchemish, and defeated them. He attacked the allies again near the Orontes, where they had been reinforced by Katê of Kauai, Piḫirim(?) of Cilicia, Buranate of Jasbuḳa, and Ada . . ., and once more defeated them, and then he received the tribute of the kings of the sea-coast, finishing his campaign with presents from Arame of Bît-Agûsi. He assessed a yearly tribute on Sangar of Carchemish and Ḫaianu, and secured the fidelity of these kings by receiving their daughters in marriage. At the same time, for reasons stated in § 87, this may possibly have been some years later, after 850 B.C. There were, of course, the usual doles from Katazilu of Kummuḫ. He fought another battle with Aḫuni, drove him across the Euphrates, and made that river his western boundary, establishing in 857 an Assyrian garrison at Til Barsip (Tel Ahmar). Here he set up a large monolith sculptured with a representation of himself, and adorned one of the gates in the enceinte with two lions inscribed with a cuneiform inscription recounting his prowess.

He had thus secured the crossing at the Euphrates should need arise for another expedition to the west; next he was compelled to deal with Ar(r)ame, the king of Urarṭa, whom he defeated with great loss, and during this campaign he again attacked Kâki, the king of Ḫubuškia, with similar success.

§ 25. But the great struggle for which the lands of Syria and the Hittites were preparing was not long to be deferred. Hitherto the great kingdom of Damascus had avoided coming to blows with Assyria, and, as Maspero (p. 41) well points out, Aššurnaṣirpal in his raid had discreetly confined himself to the left bank of the Orontes: 'it was Damascus which held sway over those territories whose frontiers he respected, and its kings, also suzerains of Hamath and masters of half Israel, were powerful enough to resist, if not conquer, any

---

[1] The texts say nothing of Mutallu joining the coalition of Aḫuni.

enemy who might present himself.' But the king of Damascus, at this time Benhadad II (Adad-idri), who appears to have been a very shrewd diplomatist, can have had no easy feelings at these incursions, and he assumed supreme control over a great alliance wherein were found as confederates Irhulina of Hamath, Ahab of Israel, the troops of the lands of Kauai, Muzri, Irkanata, Usanata, as well as those of Matinu-ba'al of Arvad, Adunu-ba'al of Siana, Gindibu' the Arab *shêkh*, and Ba'sa the son of Ruhubi of the Ammonites. Their numbers are given at nearly four thousand chariots, nearly two thousand cavalry, a thousand cameleers, and between fifty and sixty thousand infantry, all described in the official Assyrian records as the forces of Adad-idri, Irhulina 'with the kings of the Hatti and of the sea-coast'.

It was in 854 that the smouldering fire broke out. Shalmaneser had set out to punish Giammu, the *shêkh* of a district near the Balikh river, no great distance from Nineveh, and the people of his tribe, fearing the Assyrians, murdered their chief. So he collected his revenue in Pitru [1] from the members of that Hittite coalition, most of whom had fought him so short a time pre- viously: Sangar of Carchemish, Kundašpi of Kummuh, Arame of Bît-Agûsi, Lalli of Milid, Haianu of Samal, Kalparuda of Patin, and Kalparuda (*sic*) of Gurgum. This over, he proceeded to Aleppo, where he made sacrifices to Tesup (Adad), the great god of the Hittites, and then captured the towns Adinnu, Maš-(or Bar-)gâ, and Arganâ [2], belonging to Irhulîna of Hamath, an overt act of hostility which roused the Hittite coalition about his ears. The two armies met at Karkar, and, as Maspero says, the battle was long and bloody, and the issue uncertain, yet not unfavourable to Damascus. It showed to the Hittites that the old virtue of alliances was still as strong as ever, and in consequence Shalmaneser was obliged to suppress a revolt in Til-abni the very next year; a serious war in Babylonia occupied two years (852-851), and in 850 Sangar of Carchemish and Arame (of Agûsi) again gave trouble, doubtless because the pressure from the Assyrian side was lightened. Maspero remarks that, since the indecisive battle of Karkar, the western frontier of the Assyrian empire had receded as far as the Euphrates, and the king had been obliged to forego the annual Syrian tribute, but now that the Babylonian war was ended the Assyrians could again assail Syria. In 849 the army was mobilized for the second Syrian campaign, and the Syrian army of Benhadad, with the twelve kings of the Hittites, met the Assyrians, and although the latter records claim a victory, it

---

[1] Are we to see on the slab from Carchemish M xii, 2 (perhaps a fragment of No. 1, which is sculp- tured with an Assyrian winged figure) the name Pitru (Witru) in *M-t-r* (= *W-t-r*)-'country'+'king'?

[2] On the Bronze Gates of Balawat is represented the capture of another city 'Aštamaku of Irhulini'.

seems almost less probable than in 854, for for three years little was done. Again in 846 the two forces joined battle again, the Assyrian army this time numbering 120,000, but the results seem in no way to have favoured the Assyrian arms, and Syria had rest from Assyria until the death of Benhadad when he was smothered by Hazael.

§ 26. From this point onwards the good fortune of Damascus waned. To quote Maspero,[1] 'It was to Benhadad that it owed most of its prosperity: he it was who had humiliated Hamath and the princes of the coast of Arvad, and the nomads of the Arabian desert. He had witnessed the rise of the most energetic of all the Israelite dynasties, and he had curbed its ambition ; Omri had been forced to pay him tribute, Ahab, Ahaziah, and Joram had continued it ; and Benhadad's suzerainty, recognized more or less by their vassals, had extended through Moab and Judah as far as the Red Sea. Not only had he skilfully built up this fabric of vassal states which made him lord of two-thirds of Syria, but he had been able to preserve it unshaken for a quarter of a century, in spite of rebellions from several of his fiefs and reiterated attacks from Assyria. Shalmaneser, indeed, had made an attack on his line, but without breaking through it, and had at length left him master of the field. This superiority, however, which no reverse could shake, lay in himself and in himself alone ; no sooner had he passed away than it suddenly ceased, and Hazael found himself restricted from the very outset to the territory of Damascus proper. Hamath, Arvad, and the northern peoples deserted the league, to return to it no more.'

Hence in 842 Shalmaneser again crossed the Euphrates and challenged Hazael ; a bloody battle was again fought, Hazael lost an enormous number of infantry, cavalry, and chariots, and yet merely ran away to fight again another day. Meanwhile the Assyrian king, after fruitlessly besieging him in Damascus and destroying the pleasant gardens about it, carved a monument to himself on a rock, and received tribute from the kings of Tyre and Sidon, and Jehu.

§ 27. Two years later Shalmaneser set forth to punish the different chiefs who had taken part in the coalitions against Assyria, dealing with each one singly, now that they were no longer allied, so that they collapsed utterly. The Kauai were the first to bear this fresh attack in 840 ; in 839 there was another campaign against Hazael, and the usual receipt of tribute from Tyre, Sidon, and also from Gebal ; then again for two years (838–837) to the north-west to Tabal, where twenty-four chiefs were reduced to subjection, and Ueta̦š (*Ordasu* ?), the stronghold of Lalli, the king of Malatia, was captured. A cam-

---

[1] *Passing of the Empires*, p. 83.
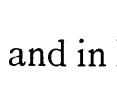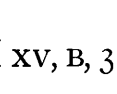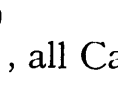
paign in Namri in 836 drew the Assyrians away from these regions for a short time; but they were back again in 835, receiving the tribute of 'the kings of the Hittites', and invading the land of Kauai, where Timur, the fortress of its chief Katê, was assaulted, and Mûru, the castle of Arame, son of Agûsi, was taken over by the Assyrian king. In 834 'for the fourth time' Katê was attacked, and deposed by the Assyrians in favour of his brother Kirrî; they actually reached Tarsus. In the following year, under the Assyrian general Dayan-Aššur, they invaded Urarṭa. Arame of Urarṭa had ceased to be ruler here by this time, and Seduri (= Sarduris[1]) had taken his place; but a revolt in 832 among the Patinai, who killed their king, Lubarna, and put Surri on the throne, evidently occurred too early for the Assyrians to take full advantage of their initial successes in Urarṭa. Dayan-Aššur was dispatched against them, punished them, and put Sâsi on the throne. For the next three years the Assyrian army was occupied on the north-west frontier, against Kirhi and Ḥubuškia, as far as the Mannai; and then, shortly afterwards, arose the internal troubles, when Aššur-danin-pal, the son of Shalmaneser, raised the standard of revolt against his father, only to be put down by his brother Šamši-Adad, who ultimately came to the throne in 824. His records show at once how great the cataclysm had been, and although he was perpetually at war, he never regained the whole of his father's kingdom, and apparently was only able to restore the western boundary of the empire to the line of the Euphrates at Carchemish.

§ 28. So much for the Assyrian records of the ninth century when Sangar and Irḥulîna were ruling their respective cities. I have gone thus fully into this history, because I believe that the system of decipherment of the Hittite hiero-glyphs which I am putting forward will show, as I have mentioned before, that many of the Hittite inscriptions hitherto published deal with alliances made by the Hittite, Syrian, and other princes and kings of this date, and that many of the names which occur in Shalmaneser's records are to be found on them.

First, to complete the proof that = am, ham, or ḥam (§ 16).

Take first a quotation from the new long inscription of Jerabis:
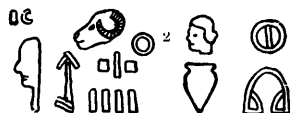
In M xi, 2, we find , and in M xv, B, 3 , all Carchemish

---

inscriptions.   Similarly in a new Jerabis inscription [glyphs] where we

are justified in restoring the first group in accordance with our other three

inscriptions by reason of the group which follows it.   Lastly, compare [glyphs] (M vi, 3, *bis*, a Hamath text).

Now if it were not for the obvious addition of the 'tang' to the head-dress on the face, in M xi and xv, we might consider that this group was merely some recurrent grammatical expression; but this 'tang' entirely justifies us in believing that this group is a proper name, and, as Sangar and Irhulina are also on the long new inscription, it is reasonable to see in it a contemporary chief.   The last character we know to be *-mi*; we have the suggested value *am*, *ham*, or *ham* for the ram's head (from the name of Hamath, § 16): so that we have to identify a king's name written in three characters, the first of which is a head of which the back part has been cut away so as to leave only the face (this is distinct in the long inscription) followed by *-ammi*, *-hammi*, or *-hammi*.   With which of the numerous kings' names of this period can we identify it?

The known names of this period which correspond to this final *-ammi* are Gi-ammu, Kalammu and Panammu.   Now it has been mentioned in § 2 that Assyrian words were absolutely and without doubt adopted by the Hittites in their cunei-form writing, and one of them which stands out as certain is the word *pani* used

for 'before', and literally 'face'.   Hence we are at once led to see in [glyphs]

the name Pan-am-mi.   Two kings of this name are known from the Sinjerli inscriptions, one the son of Karal (of Ia'di), the other the son of Bar-sr (of Samal).[2] The latter Panammu died during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, i. e. some time after 745; Sachau assigns the date 790 (?) to the former, the son of Karal.   But we must either see in our Panammi of the Hittite hieroglyphs a grandfather of this Panammu, and father of Karal (according to the usual and well-known method of preserving the grandfather's name in the grandson) or what I think is more probable, and quite reasonable, we must assign an earlier date to the first Sinjerli Panammu, allowing at least 100 years to the three reigns, Panammu I, Bar-sr, and Panammu II, and consider that Panammu I was reigning about 845.   This theory for the reading Panammi is well supported by the discovery of the name Karal under the form G(K)ar-a-li in M lii, 4 [written by Benhadad] (§ 11); and we can thus assign M lii to a date earlier than M vi, xi,

---

[1] This group (the brother of Panammi) possibly occurs on M vii, 1 badly written.
[2] See Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions* (the Sinjerli Inscriptions).

and xv, B, and possibly than M xxi and ix (see § 52, *note*).   From the inscriptions of Shalmaneser we learn that Samal was ruled by Ḥaianu certainly in 854, and hence Ia'di and Samal must have been separate kingdoms at this time.

Thus is our assumption that ⟨glyph⟩ = *am* confirmed, and that our suggestion for the identification of 'Hamath' in § 16 is sound.   (For additional proof of the occurrence of Panammu's name, from the probability of the phrase 'Bar-Ḥayâ, his brother', see § 73 (*c*)).

§ 29. With this ⟨glyph⟩ *am*, we can turn to a passage in the Mar'ash inscriptions which contains this sign in two names.

M xxi—

M lii—

Both of these inscriptions, as is clear, have as their subject the chief or king ⟨glyph⟩ speaking.   The name of the country in which these inscriptions were found is presumably contained in

 or [2]

As we saw in § 16, the ⟨glyph⟩ or ⟨glyph⟩[3] may be disregarded for the present as not being part of the name.   We have therefore to find the name of the country in ⟨glyphs⟩.

The first character is clearly the same as the second with the addition of

---

[1] Restored from parallel at beginning of l. 4 and M xxi, 2.

[2] Also in M xxv, 3 ⟨glyphs⟩ and xxiv, B ⟨glyphs⟩, all from Mar'ash.

[3] From these two variants a value '*s* is suggested for ⟨glyph⟩ , which takes the place of ⟨glyph⟩. This is also apparent in two other cases in the two quotations above.   The ibex's head never, as far as I know, takes the place of *s* after *i* (in *ni, ni*), and hence we must read it *as* or *us*. The former becomes a certainty when we consider *K-as-k* (Kaškai, § 35), *As-ir, As-r-a* (Assyria, § 51).   (See note to § 1.)

the 'tang', which indicates proper names, so that the name will begin with two syllables or characters the same. Now the name of the city of Mar'ash, long known to be the ancient Assyrian Markasi, is obviously unfitted for this identification: but the same cannot be said for the district Gurgum in which Markasi lay.[1] For the letter *r* as a medial has always given trouble, and tends frequently in ancient transliterations to drop out altogether; even at this very period with which we are concerned the king of Urarṭa is called Sêduri by Shalmaneser, a form now generally recognized to be intended for the Sarduri of the later periods. The Ṭurušpâ of the Assyrians became Θωσπία in Greek script, דרמשק varies with דמשק: Γαυγάμηλα is the modern Karamles (which seems to point to an ancient Kar-gamili) containing similar consonants to Gurgum-Gugum.[2] Secondly, we have already proved that = *am*, and hence if we apply the word Gu(r)gum to our hieroglyphic group we should get

Gu - gu - am

which is quite plausible. If this be so, then it will probably lead to our reading as 'm[3] (*am* and *um*); the problem before us is then to prove from elsewhere that = *gu*.

Now in the Tel Ahmar inscription (l. 3) there occurs a proper name marked by the 'tang' . This name occurs in the proper names of Malatia, M xvi, c as , quoted in § 19: if this be read according to our sign values we shall obtain a name, probably that of a chief, Gu-am or Gu-'m, and we can recognize in this the name of the chief Giammu of the district near the Balikh river, not far from Tel Ahmar and Carchemish. As is mentioned in § 25, his district was invaded by Shalmaneser in 854, and his own people murdered him.

§ 30. In M xxi, 1 (quoted above, § 29) we find a group ,[4] which

---
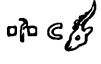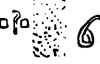
[1] *Tarḫulara* is prefect of Gurgum (*WAI*. ii. 67, 45, 58: iii. 9, 52) or Markasa (Assyrian tablet in B.M. K 1660).

[2] It must be remembered that both Assyrian and Aramaic forms of Gurgum would be transliterations of the native name.

[3] *u-'m-k* = *Unḳi* = '*Amḳ* occurs on T.A. 4. See § 52 (5).

[4] That the word ends here is clear from a comparison with M lii, 1 (quoted also § 29), where (parallel with which follows our word immediately in M xxi) is clearly a distinct word.

appears from its 'tang' to be a proper name: it occurs also in l. 3, the first character being ⟨symbol⟩. Now this character appears nowhere else, as far as I know, and since the stone lion on which the inscription is carved is crowded with characters, it is very probable that we have here a 'conflate' sign made up of ⟨symbol⟩ *ar* and ⟨symbol⟩, so that we can read the whole group as Ar-am-mi. Now Arame is the name of both the king of Urarṭa and the king of Bît-Agûsi, neither of them far from Mar'ash, and both were defeated by Shalmaneser (§ 24). In M xi, 4 he is called 'Ar-am, chief of K-as-k', i.e. Kaškai (§ 35), and from this and from the propinquity of his name to that of Sangar in the Assyrian records we may assume that the Arame of Bît-Agûsi is meant.

§ 31. Proceeding with these same quotations from the Mar'ash texts, we have seen that ⟨symbol⟩ is a king's name, to which is added ⟨symbol⟩ and ⟨symbol⟩ in M ii: here in M xxi and lii this addition is affixed to the word ⟨symbol⟩ (in the form of ⟨symbol⟩ and ⟨symbol⟩). Hitherto we have only commented on this addition in place-names, but clearly from our quotations from M ii it may be also added to personal names. Hence, since we have already identified Gurgum, the place-name immediately following ⟨symbol⟩, we can see a personal name in this latter group.

The connexion of this personal name with Gurgum in the Mar'ash inscription is settled for us quite simply by the Hittite seal figured in M xlii, 5, on which the inscription runs down one side

⟨symbols⟩

and up the other ⟨symbols⟩ (reading thus, in this order), i.e. it is duplicated, as in the 'Tarkondemos' Boss. Here clearly is our place-name, ⟨symbols⟩ *Gu-gu-'m* = Gurgum, with ⟨symbols⟩ as [king] of it. The seal inclines us to the reading of the signs in the order ⟨symbols⟩, which is favoured by T.A. 1, ⟨symbol⟩ and M ii, 1, ⟨symbol⟩; but on the other hand M xxi and lii give ⟨symbol⟩. Nevertheless, in whatever way it is to be read, we have proved that
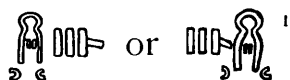
was the name of the king of Gurgum contemporaneous with Arame, and of the two kings who we know were living about this period, Mutallu and Kalparuda, the former from the shortness of its appearance seems the more probable. In order to show that the second hieroglyphic group above really is Mutallu we must turn aside for proofs on entirely fresh lines.

§ 32. If the various 'hand'-signs be examined it will be seen that (forearms crossed, probably in order to make blood-brotherhood) is probably a 'stenographic' form of the hieroglyph of M x, 1 (see § 1), and from this latter we obtain the clue that the former also is an ideogram for 'alliance' or 'brotherhood'. By pursuing this idea further it is not far to , the hand holding the dagger, which Professor Sayce at first considered to express the idea of 'killing' or 'conquering' (*TSBA.* vii, 1882, p. 276), and altered later, I believe erroneously, to 'great'. His first idea was, I think, much nearer, and personally, like Dr. Rusch, I believe it gives the idea of 'fighting' and hostility. The hand holding the graving-tool similarly gives the word for 'engraving'.[2]

---

[1] If the cast of the Mar'ash lion in the B.M. (M xxi) be examined it will be found to have the second paragraph (i.e. the end of l. 1) thus: 'Benhadad unto the son of his brother . . . li' (i.e. Mu-tal-li?); and in the middle of the second line it is possible that four characters read *Mu-*tal-li-s (see translation at end).

[2] We find similar ideas in Egyptian ideographs, ⊔▭ = 'to give', ☍ = 'to grasp', ⊕ 'to fight'. The Hittite ▤ and ⟋ may then be suspected to mean 'to take' and 'to place' respectively. This hand holding the graving-tool occurs in M iii, B, 3; iv, A, 3 (and is broken away in B), where presumably Irḫulina says 'I have graven our covenant(?) with (So-and-so)'. Similarly in a new Jerabis inscr. (see § 68 (10)) 'So-and-so hath graven(?) covenants with me'. That it does not mean simply 'to write', as I first thought, is shown by M ii, 4 'our allies have graven the leg(?) (= base?) of the memorial (?)' (see § 48 (5)); moreover, the picture in the hieroglyphs points to a large tool held in the grip, unlike a pen. As is shown in § 48, we have the root *t-e* certainly meaning 'to say' (in M ii, 5 this is paralleled by the ideograph 'engrave'); a third root *s* which occurs in similar passages must have a similar meaning, and I propose the value 'write' on the following grounds:—The actual root is certain from the word *s-r-a* following chiefs' names (in exactly the same manner as *t-e-r-a* 'they say'); e.g. '(NN in the land of?) *s-r-a: kat-n: t-e: I;* have written, We are of one speech (accord),' &c. (TA 4: § 61) (cf. . . .; *t*(*a*) *s-r-a* 'enemy': *I-k-n-m: g*(*k*)-*mu c-a-t*(*a*) 'have written, Against my (? = our?) common enemy I will go with thee', TA 3). Cf. also M xxxii, 3 . . .? *an-nas ID* (or *U-*) *Am-k: ID; -n s-r-a:* 'god'-'friend'-*k-ni-nis-k-n: Kar-a-tal*(?)-*k-n,* ' . . . . annas, chief (?) of Amk a . . have written: Unto (*or,* By ?) the god of (our ?) friend, unto Karatal(?)' (see M. xxi, 2, 5, 6, comparing

§ 33. On the analogy of these suppositions let us suppose that ⟨symbol⟩, the hand outstretched in welcome, so constant in the groups in § 14, indicates 'friendship', and compare the opening phrase of the two Mar'ash texts M xxi and lii quoted in § 29. The first part of the sentences is the same in each case, except for the vertical hand ⟨symbol⟩ varying with ⟨symbol⟩. The first group ⟨symbol⟩ is 'saith' from § 9: hence the line in M lii will begin—

'Saith (king) X 'friend'-*k-n-ni-s* (king) Y (Mutallu?)-*a*- ... -*s* [of] *Gu-gu-'m-a-* ⟨symbol⟩ *-n-s-*'place'.

Now the postpositive *k-n* (cuneiform *kan*) is already known from § 7 to mean 'to', and as an examination of the cuneiform texts will show that -*š* is the suffix of the third person singular (§ 57) we may suppose that we have a possessive here, placed after the *k-n*, 'Saith (king) X unto his friend(?) (king) Y (Mutallu?) of Gurgum'. A comparison of similar texts will show that this is

---

there 'god'-'brother'-*k-ni-n-nis* and 'god'-'friend'-*k-ni-nis*). The perfect of this verb *s* with the augment occurs in a new Jer. inscr. in the form *a-s-t*. 'So-and-so: *ID-n(a) a-s-t* "brother"-*e-k*: *san-t-n-s* (or *san(n)-s-t(a)*) hath written a (our) ... "Like a brother(s) thou makest us (or thou actest)"' (§§ 69, 76). The word ⟨symbol⟩ *a-s-t* occurs once elsewhere. A form *s-u-n* appears in 'The pledges(?) of So-and-so *s-u-n* (I have written)' (new Jerabis): *n-m-n s-u-n* 'a covenant(?) I have written' (new Jerabis). In the case of M xv, B are we to read ll. 2-3 *kat-s n-u kat-u-n*: "*Pan-am-mi n-m-n s-u-n* (§ 71)? In the next line *n-m-n s-u-n* ends the inscription following after a chief's name. A form *s-u* occurs M lii, 3.

I had at first thought that this root *s* meant 'to send', but I believe that the meaning 'write' is the correct one, on account of the following noun *s-e*, which would seem to come from it. The most striking instances appear to me to be in (1) M xxxiv, A (Ivriz): 'I am Tesup-mis.., I am Ariarathides; we have given our alliance (hands); (l. 3) *s-e* "ally" -*na t(a)-*?, the writing of our alliance giv[ing].' *S-e* here must mean some tangible proof of the alliance. (2) M xxxiii, 2: 'This tablet of making alliance hath brought gifts(?): *te*(?) *s-e-t(a)*: *t-a*: *mi-t(a) ID*; "*T(a)-a-nas*, thy letter did speak concerning(?) Tyanian wood.' (On this quotation see translation at end.) The other instance which I know is:—(M i) "*Gu-n-nas man*(?)-*mu s-e*: *n-m-n-e* 'god' *Targu*(?)-*r-r-s* 'god'-*Sul*(?)-*e-s*: *mi-ni*, 'Gunnas(?), my ... (?), hath accepted(?) the writing of the covenant of Targu-ras (and) Sul(?)-es.' (See translation at end.) Does *s-e-n-mi* in this text also belong here?

Are we to see the root in the verb after *kat-mi* (*ibid.*) and read *s-un*? (see § 70, *note*). In M vii, 2 *gu*(?);-*e-u* 10(?) *ID s-e n-m-n-an u-t*(?) .. *san* ... the phrase is the same ('writing of our covenant') as in the previous example, and considering the limited possibilities of the verb *s* we shall probably not be far wrong in considering the meaning to be 'write' with a noun *s-e* (whatever number or case) 'a writing'. Is this endorsed by the Hittite cuneiform?

The meaning 'write' fits the following case:—(Y r. 11) *nu ma-a-an* ᵃⁿ*UD-uš a-aš-šu ku-e ta-* ... 'Unto our lord (§ 44) the Sun-god (i.e. king) they have written, "Gifts giving ..."' (the next line ending 'for a gift a poor man brings to thee a sheep'), where I take *a-aš-šu* to be the augmented tense of *s* with *u* termination, as in § 71.

Other possible occurrences of the root are (G 16) *nam-ma-aš GIŠ-NI-it ša-ra-a hu-it-ti-ia-an-zi*: (Y r. 1) ... *ta na iš AN . EN . ZU . NA ši-i-e-it* ...: (Y r. 2) ... *a-ar BÂBU.GAL-aš bi-niš ši-i-e-it ameli MES*: (Y r. 4) ... *ša li-it ah-ha-ti ša-at u-ul ta-ah-hu-un*. Cf. *ša-a-ak-ki* (Y 20); [*š*]*a-ia-at* (A ii, 5).

extremely plausible, and when we find the 1st person singular and plural suffix (-*m* and -*an*) used in a similar way the suggestion becomes a certainty[1] :—

(3rd person singular)

(*a*) M ii, 1 [hieroglyphs] 'Saith **name** X. (king)Y (Mutallu ?) *a*-[hieroglyphs]-*s :* [hieroglyph]-*k-n-s* (i.e. 'unto his [hieroglyph] (king) Y (Mutallu ?)).'

(*b*) M xxii [hieroglyphs] 'Saith Tesup-k *a-s-k-nis* (i.e. 'unto his *a-s*'[2]).

(*c*) M lii, 3 [hieroglyphs] 'Saith **name**(king) X [hieroglyph]-*k-ni-s* Q (i.e. unto his friend (?) Q[3]).'

(*d*) M xxi, 1 'Saith (king) X[4].... [hieroglyphs] (= [hieroglyph]-*k-n-s* **name**-*Ir-am-mi*) 'unto his [hieroglyph] Arammi'.

---

[1] A list of the suffixes will be found in § 58, with the reasons for their identification, and I have consequently not repeated them here. The examples for *k-n* with 1st pers. sing. and pl. are

(1) TA 7 : [hieroglyphs] i.e.: ID; *k-n-m* 'unto my table (?)'; (2) M x, 7 [hieroglyphs] ID-*k-n-m* 'against mine enemy'; (3) M lii, 5 [hieroglyphs] ID-*k-n-n-m* 'to my?'; (4) M ii, 4 [hieroglyphs] *m-n-u-k-n-an a-t(a)-t* 'for our memorial (?) he hath given.'

[2] I am much inclined to suggest that these two signs are [hieroglyphs] *a-ḫu*, and to recognize the word as one of those adopted by the Hittites from Assyria, translating it 'brother' on the analogy of *a-bi-e* (Y 32, 33), *a-bu-u-uš* (Y 37, 38), *a-bu-u-un-na* (Y 27, 31), &c., 'father'. There is the bare possibility of *aḫu* occurring once for 'brother' in the Hittite cuneiform (Al. *r.* 18, a letter) *ili-lu GIŠ UD* *ᵐZa-ar-še-AN-MAR-TU a-ḫa-ti-wa ḫat-ra-at* (' Zarše-Martu, thine other brother?'): the Sumerian ideograph is, however, often used. (See § 89.) Tesup-k occurs elsewhere in the hieroglyphic texts.

[3] This is a name which occurs elsewhere : see § 49.

[4] This name is so important and occurs so frequently that it is better to discuss it here. [hieroglyph] occurs on the long Jerabis inscription ; on M ii, 1, 4, 6 (from Babylon): iii A, 1 (Aleppo) : iii B, 3 (Hamath): xvi, A, 1 (Malatia) : xxi, 1, 2 and lii, 1, 3 (Mar'ash). Ball, as far back as 1887 (*PSBA.*, ix, 1887, 447), recognized that this was a royal name of which the first part was Dadi. This king is one of four who have written the Malatia inscription, the first being probably Irḫulina : on the long Jerabis inscription he is mentioned again with one of these kings, and he is the actual writer of the two long Mar'ash inscriptions to Mutallu. In the Malatia as well as the Mar'ash inscriptions he is undoubtedly suggesting an alliance with the reigning king of those lands, and from the ubiquity of his name it is clear his power was widely recognized.

The name is made up of the sign for Tesup without the god-sign ; then an unknown sign which I have not met outside this name; and finally the sign *r*. Thus we get *Tesup-?-r*, or, since Tesup is Hadad, *Hadad-?-r*, which looks very much as though we had the Assyrian form of the

§ 34. From these examples it appears that suffixes can be added to *k-n*, the forms being *k-n-m*, *k-n-n-m*, *k-n-s*, *k-ni-s*, *k-nis*, *k-n-nis*,[1] *k-n-an*. We are also in possession of five terms of address:—

(1) 'friend' or 'ally', varying with (2).[2]

(2) (proved to mean 'brother', § 38).

(3) *a-s* (or perhaps = *a-ḫu* 'brother', § 33, *note* 2).

(4) (called 'chief' by Sayce, and considered thus ('man' or 'hero') as certain by Menant, *loc. cit.*, 104 : see § 73 (*b*)).

(5) (considered as 'king' by Sayce : I should prefer 'lord', see translation of M xxi, M lii, at end).

With this possible clue from the vertical hand as 'friend', we may turn to the horizontal hand with the thumb in the same place in the frequent group (§ 14) ('hand': + *a mi-nis*). It is marked, as has been pointed out, by 'word dividers' before and after, so that it is an ideogram; the omission in the *three* Hamath texts of shows that this is probably not an accident, but that this syllable or word is unimportant. *Mi-nis* seems to be cognate with our word *mi-ni-* 'we'; so that it looks as though we should arrive at some such meaning for the first lines of the Hamath texts as 'Saith Irḫulîna to N, "Make alliance with us".' Knowing the necessity to the Hittites for such alliances at this period, it does not seem improbable. How then, shall we explain and grammatically ?

---
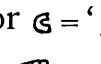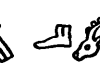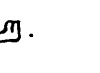
name of Benhadad II, Adad-id-ri. When we consider the frequence of his name, that he is mentioned on Irḫulîna's inscription at Hamath, that he writes to Mutallu of Gurgum and his adopted (?) son, and Arame, telling them of the alliances of several kings, among whom are Ḳaral, Katê and Nks, and probably Panammu and Irḫulîna, that he joins with Irḫulîna (?) and two other kings to ask alliance with the king of Malatia, and, as negative evidence, that he is not mentioned in the later published texts of Carchemish, in which occurs the name of Kirrî (who was not put on the throne of the Ḳauai until 834, § 27), we may well see Benhadad in this name, reading his name *Tesup* (*Hadad*)-*id* (or *iz ?*)-*r*.

[1] And also *k-s*, presumably by assimilation for *k-n-s* in M xxxii, 1 : xxxiii, 1. At first sight *k-n-nis* would lead one to suspect 1st pl. suffix rather than 3rd sing., especially when 'make alliance with us' frequently follows, and the difficult case ' brother '-*k-ni nin-as* 'unto the son of . . brother' (M xxi, 1) occurs. But we find *k-n-s* in the same line as *k-n-ni-s*, referring to the same subject (M xxi, 1), and in M xxxiii, 1 'make alliance with us' follows the simplest form *k-s*. Moreover, the doubled *n* occurs in the 1st pers. sing. *k-n-n-m* as well as *k-n-m*, and consequently the balance of evidence is in favour of our seeing the 3rd pers. in *k-n-nis*.

[2] See the note to § 67.
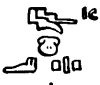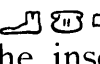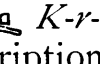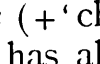
§ 35. The ᴄ is distinct from clearly, for is three times left out: ᴄ is also the equivalent of (§ 15(3)). In M xi, 4 occurs, which must either be a god's name, or more probably the second sign is an adjective qualifying 'god', in which case it is probably 'great'. This group occurs in a new inscription from Jerabis thus .

With this value 'great' the group which occurs twice in M x (4 and 6) should mean 'chief of the Nine', whoever they may be: similarly we find in M lii, 2, and (except for ﹚ᴄ) thus also in a new Jerabis inscription.

This clue (or ᴄ = 'great', 'chief') leads us to far-reaching conclusions. In M xi, 4, we find head .

'Affirmeth (sweareth) Ar-am chief of K-as-k', i.e. Arame, chief of Kaškai.[1]

Hence it should prove a clue to the existence of names of chiefs or kings in the hieroglyphs.

Take then the group (l. 4) and (l. 5) in the same inscription, which reads K-r-a (+'chief'), the *a* in the first case being marked by a 'tang'. The inscription has already been shown to contain the names of Arame (above) and Panammi (l. 2, § 28); hence it belongs to the date of Shalmaneser, and, moreover, not too early in his reign. The name may be easily identified with Kirrî who was placed on the throne of the Kauai by Shalmaneser in place of Katê his brother (§ 27). It will be seen in § 49, that other chiefs' names are similarly indicated, and we can therefore consider this sign as proved to mean 'great'. There should therefore be no difficulty in finding its value from the Hittite cuneiform.

§ 36. The adverb *hu-u-wa-an*[2] in the first Arzawa letter is the equivalent of

---

[1] The word *kask* undoubtedly ends at the -*k*, for the next word is well known. The Kaškai are a well-known tribe to the north-west of Assyria, and it is probable that this is a more definite description of one of the two kings called Arame by Shalmaneser, either of Bit-Agùsi or Urarta (see § 30). I have suggested 'affirm' or 'swear' for the ideograph of the head with protruding tongue (see end of note to § 1).

[2] It occurs A i, 6, 7,10: Y [8], 15, 35, *r.* 33(?): cf. *hu-wa-an-ti* Y 9; *hu-u-wa-an-da* A i. 26: *hu-iš* Y 44, cf. Y 6: *hu-u-i-ia-an-te-eš* Z i, 7: *hu-(u)-i-ba* D 14: E 12: *hu-u-wa-aš-ša* C vi, 9, &c. Particularly compare the name in Assyrian letters ᵐ*Hu-te-sup*, B.M., K 1037, 1067 (period *c.* 700 B.C.), 'Great is Tesup'.

the Babylonian *dannis*,[1] in the greetings of the letter tablets: 'thy houses, thy wives, &c. *hu-u-wa-an DMk-in e-eš-tu* may they be very well'. The *wa-an* may very likely be the adverbial termination, equivalent to an accusative: *be-ri-wa-an* occurs (G 23, *in-nu-da-aš i-wa-ar be-ri-wa-an az-zi-ig-gan-zi*), which may also be an adverb. So that we are probably right in seeing in *hu-u-wa-an* the root *h* or *hu* 'great': and if so ⸺ and 𝕵(𝓩) will probably indicate a similar sound.

§ 37. Now there is in Hittite cuneiform an interesting causative conjugation formed by adding *-hh-* to a root, e.g. *up-pa-ah-hi* A i, 18, *up-pa-(ah)-hu-un* A i, 15, 28 (from the well-known root *pa*): *ta-ah-hu-un* Y r. 4, [5] *tah-hu-da* . . . Y r. 18 (from the root *ta* 'to give'): *te-eh-hu-un* Y r. 7 (from the root *te* 'to say'). Other forms are *šu-ub-bi-ia-ah-hi* D r. 5, *šu-ub-bi-ia-ah-ha-an-zi* D r. 7, *su-uh-ha-ah-hu-un* Y r. 6. Can we consider this ⸺ or 𝕵(𝓩) in ⸺ ⸺(𝓩) as akin to this?

The following examples from the hieroglyphs give interesting results:—

(1) (A new Jerabis inscr.) ⸺ : 'ally': + *h*(?)-*n* ⸺.

(2) (M ii, 2) ⸺ : *kar san-n-*⸺ : 'ally': + *h*(?)-*n-*⸺.

(3) (TA 4) ⸺ : . . . 'enemy'-*k-n-s*: 'ally': + *h*(?)-*n-n*(*a*)(?).

The last example (whether *n*(*a*) be correct or not, p. 125) would adduce the verbal termination for the first person plural for our consideration.

In cases (1) and (2) the subject is plural, in case (1) personal names being used. We should therefore suspect for both these groups verbs in the third person plural, for which ending *-n-*⸺ the Hittite cuneiform offers an obvious parallel in its frequent verbal forms ending in *-anzi*. For instance, in A i, 22 *nu-ut-ta u-wa-an-zi u-ta-an-zi ku-ša-ta* DÚ-SAL-*ti*, 'Unto thee they . . ., they give the dowry(?) of thy daughter'. The forms *uwanzi utanzi* indicate a verbal ending in *-anzi*. Other forms which occur are *abawanzi* G 20, *atanzi* G 16,

---

[1] Bu. 88, 10-13, 43 (Bezold-Budge, *Tell-el-Amarna Tablets*, no. 1, l. 6).

[2] My copy made in 1911 from the stone gives ⸺, but I have no hesitation in suggesting that it should be ⸺ from a comparison with other texts.

arnuanzi G 2, 8, 10, *arrubanzi* G 5, *ašnuanzi* G 20, *ašruanzi* G 13, *bennuwanzi* G 8, 9, *bennuanzi* G 1, *ṭanzi* D 6, *r.* 10, E 1, 9, *immiyanzi* G 15, *iššanzi* P 8. Thus we have clearly a [third person plural] ending in *-anzi*, coinciding with our

hieroglyphic 𒑠 𒑯, which we can now read *-n-zi* with certainty. In our present case the sense of 'ally' + $ḫ$(?)-*n-zi* is obviously 'They make alliance', and we can eliminate any doubt about it after an examination of two other phrases. In the first, from a new Jerabis inscription, the writer has given us the noun itself and the verb formed from the noun, thus showing how the causative might be made

where the base of the verb is in the second group, the verb coming first and marked with *m* (= *wa*, i.e. the cuneiform *uwa-* ?) at the beginning and terminating with the causative *ḫ-n-zi*. In the second (a new Jerabis inscription)

we find ⸺⸺ *mi-n-zi* ⊗-*ḫ-n-zi*.[1]   ⊗ is the character in M xxi which

---

[1] In order not to stray too far from the subject of 𒑯 = *zi*, I append cases of the use of *zi* placed after names. An excellent example of this in the hieroglyphs is given in § 3: *San-gar-s N-k-s* "*Gar-k-m-s* + 'place'-*zi*. Now a postpositive *zi* in the case of nouns occurs in Hittite cuneiform, and Professor Sayce rightly hazarded that it meant 'in' in the instances in cuneiform in which he met it:—

C 1, 15 *Ma-a-an LUGAL-uš* ᵃˡᵘ*A-ri-in-na-as* ᵃˡᵘ*Ha-at-tu-ši-pa-iz-zi* ('in the city Hattu-šipa'): *ibid.*, *r.* 2 ᵃˡᵘ*Ia-li-il* ᵃˡᵘ*Ha-iz-zi* nu ᵃᵐᵉˡ*GIŠ.PA LUGAL-uš*. Similarly we may see it perhaps in Y 30 . . . *ak-ki-iš ḫar-aš-zi te-ri-ib-zi wa-a-tar na-a-i ḫal-di-in-na* . . . : and possibly L 2 *nam-ma-gan E*(? or *LAH*?)*-iz-zi*.

Other words end thus in *-zi* which may be nouns, but it is difficult to be definite about them, as both *-anzi* and *-izzi* appear to be verbal terminations. But ⁱˡᵘTenusizzi (K 7) is fairly certain with a slightly different meaning than 'in' for the preposition. 'In' is definitely the sense in our hieroglyphic passage 'Sangar (and) Nks in Carchemish'. That this is no *quid pro quo* is obvious from the Jerabis text M xv, в. For other examples of this postpositive *-zi*, cf. in a new Jerabis inscription

: *Mi-zi-ir-zi* + 'place', 'in Mizir', i.e. Muzri, to the north-west of Assyria :   (TA 4):

?-'place'-*zi* 'In the land of?' (unless it should mean 'in the speech of the land', which I think unlikely). The same use of *-zi* as in ⁱˡᵘTenusizzi occurs in the hieroglyphs of M ix, 4, where *-zi* takes the place of *-s* in the parallel passage in l. 2 in the same inscription after all three personal names; and

M x, 2 ⸺ *ḫu IX-zi* 'against the chiefs of the Nine' (quoting their names). Cf. also ⸺ *Hu-ni-zi*

'with (or against) Aḫuni' (TA 1), Aḫuni being the chief of Bit-Adini, the neighbourhood of Tel Ahmar

replaces in the introductory speech of M lii, and it must therefore have some such meaning as 'friend'. Whatever *minzi* may mean (§ 69), 'they have made friendship' or a similar sense would suit ⊛-*ḫ-n-zi*. The same word is indicated in the same inscription = ⊛▽-*ḫ-n-zi*.

§ 38. But a suggestion comes from a comparison of the groups containing Panammi's name (§ 28), where we find a group repeated with and without ⊕ after it, even separated from it by a character. From the table of Hittite cuneiform pronouns (§ 57) -*s* means 'his', and in the quotation from M xi, 2 (§ 28) the last group, -*zi*, looks like a plural verb such as we have here, of which we have already seen the singular in § 35. Hence the group after Panammi gives us the impression that it is another name, and the obvious rendering for our sign would be 'brother', i.e. 'Panammi (and) R his brother swear'. (For additional evidence, see § 73.) This meaning 'brother' fits M xxi, 1 (§ 29), 'Saith Ben-hadad unto his brother Y (Mutallu?) of Gurgum', and also our word ⊛-*ḫ-n-zi*, which will give us the sense 'they have made brotherhood'. ⊛-*ḫ-n-zi*, although spelt somewhat differently, will give the same sense: the character is discussed in § 73 (*a*). It is almost unnecessary to call attention to the ancient practice of making brotherhood, which is discussed in § 87.

But we may also derive additional evidence for the value *ḫ* from , which will be seen to be the same as the sign *ḫu* from the two forms (M ix, 2, 5) and (M xxx, b). In M x 'chief of the Nine' occurs (ll. 4, 6) after what may well in each case be a personal name, and once (l. 2) after what may

---

where this inscription was found; his name occurs twice in M lii (ll. 1 and 2), : *ⁿḪu-n*(*u*), with a tang, indicating a personal name (see § 24). For the cases of *u-zi* 'with them' see the list of pronouns, § 58.

Under this heading doubtless should come the cuneiform -*za* in such phrases as *ma-a-an-za LUGAL-us* 'unto our lord king' (see § 44), *nam-ma-za* (A ii, 22), *am-mu-uk-ku-za* (W 19), &c. But as we find both *i-ia-an-zi* (Y 7; P 4), and *i-ia-an-za* (P 11), which may be only careless variants owing to the final vowel of the Hittite *zi* being slurred, it does not seem unlikely that this -*za* is merely a variant of -*zi*.

well be three personal names, and hence I should be inclined to regard ⌒ *hu*

(= 𓆰) as a plural of 𐤟 *h* and read here 'chiefs of the Nine'. Professor Sayce

recognized in ⌒ the sign of supremacy, translating 𐎱 as though it referred

to a singular subject. If ⌒ (*hu*) is the plural of 𐤟 *h* it might also read *hi* or *he* on

the analogy of the ordinary plural (§ 63), but it is impossible to lay down many
rules as yet for the grammar.

[Other passages in which ⌒ occurs are : (*a*) 𓀀 𓍿 M iii, B : iv, A :

iv, B ; the 𓆸 also occurs in these inscriptions. (*b*) 𓊹 M ix, 2, 5 : xi, 3 : xxx, B.

(*c*) 𓊵 M xii, I. (*d*) several times apparently in M xviii, especially

B 5 𓏤. (*e*) 𓊖 M xxx, B. (*f*) 𓊪 M xxx, A : xxxv, 2 : Rams. several

times : see the 'edicule' at Boghaz Keui, M xxvii, D, E. (*g*) ? M xxxi, C, 4.

(*h*) M xxxv, 3 𓊺. (*i*) TA 5 𓂀 𓎟 𓏥 .]

§ 39. We have settled therefore the value of *h* with its causal effect on
verbs, its meaning 'great', and its probable connexion with the sign *hu*. We
can now pursue the subject further, and seek the explanation of the final 𓏤 𓆸
a-h-s in both personal and place-names.

In § 29 the two quotations from M xxi and lii run thus, 'Saith Benhadad
unto his brother Y (Mutallu ?)-*a-h-as*: *Gu-gu-'m-a-h-n-as-*"place"," and 'Saith
Benhadad unto his ally Y (Mutallu ?)-*a[h]-s*: *Gu-gu-'m-a-h-n-s-*"place"." The
following throw additional light on it :—

(*a*) M ii, 1, 6, *Tesup-id*(?)-*r-a-h-s*: *ib.*, 4, *Tesup-id*(?)-*r-a-h*. (Cf. also M iii, B, 3,
§ 15, (3)).

(*b*) TA 1 𓊹 𓎱 Y (*Mutallu* ?)-*a-h-s* (cf. M ii, 1, which is the same except

for 𓏤 in place of 𐤟).

(*c*) The place-names in M iii, B, 2 : iv, A, 2 : B, 2.[1]

---

[1] These may be transliterated ? -*r-an-a-h-s*-'place', -*Ir*(?)-*man*(?)-*a-h-nas-e-a*-'place', *B-s-h-r-a-h-nas*-'place'. See § 56.

(*d*) The name of Hamath, *Am-ṭ(a)-a-ḥ-*'place'-'lord'-*-ṭ-a* (M [iii, B, I]: iv, A, B, I: M vi, and Restan I).

(*c*) M xxxiii, I (see § 12): "*A-r-ar-a-s*: "*Ṭ(a)-a-n(a)-a-ḥ-s-*'place'.

There are other instances, but these are enough. It is noticeable that in no case does the writer of an inscription apply the termination *a-ḥ-s* to himself; it is always to the person (or city) whereof he speaks, or even to his own city. It seems to be a compliment, and from its form connected with our root *ḥ* 'great', and Jensen's earlier suggestion 'king' was a reasonable one (see § 1, *note*). I do not think that the *a* represents a definite article, as I can find nothing to identify as a parallel, nor can I find any word in Hittite cuneiform with which to compare *a-ḥ-š*. I am inclined to see in it an intensive form (like the Greek ἀτενής, ἀσπερχές), and used in terms of address, meaning 'the very great'. It is at least noteworthy that it is applied to Hamath in the Hamath texts, which would compare with the ' Hamath the great' of Amos vi. 2. Moreover, in the inscription of Bar-Rekub from Sinjerli (Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, 172) we find the phrase פחי ואחי יאדי 'satraps and *aḥê* of Ia'di', פחי being compared (*ibid.*, p. 178) to the Assyrian *paḥati*, and אח 'apparently a title like איח, l. 3', and it does not seem improbable that we have here our Hittite word.

§ 40. Having come thus far, we can now turn to in , and the first point is to discover the value of the ox-head. There is a common word of which we may cite the following instances:—

(*a*) M x, I

(*b*) *Ibid.*, 7

(*c*) M xi, 2

(*d*) M xxi, 5

(*e*) New Jerabis

(*f*) New Jerabis

Now in the first case (*a*) if [hieroglyph] be, on the analogy of [hieroglyph], a verb, [hieroglyph] will probably not be one. In (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) [hieroglyph] is used directly before the nouns 'friend', Panammi, and Mutallu (?): hence, if it be not a verb, it may be a preposition. In (*e*) and (*f*) a most noticeable interchange of [hieroglyph] and [hieroglyph] suffixed takes place, [hieroglyph] becomes [hieroglyph], and [hieroglyph] becomes [hieroglyph]. If [hieroglyph] be a preposition, then [hieroglyph] and [hieroglyph] are (pronominal) suffixes.

§ 41. We have therefore to follow up the problem:—Can we compare this with any preposition beginning with *a* existing in Hittite cuneiform? Now the word *aba* is obviously a preposition in Al. *r.* 8 ff. *a-ba-u GIŠ-ŠAR ša Dur-rabû-bâb-me | GIŠ-ŠAR ga-na-ri-iz | GIŠ-ŠAR ša Liš-me-amil-um a-ba ḫarran-me | a-ba-u GIŠ-ŠAR ša Dur-ki-me,* 'With (or from) them the garden of D., the garden ..., the garden of Lišme-amilum with (or from) the paths, with (or from) them the garden of Durkime.' It occurs also possibly in Scheil i, 3, ... *ta-an-ḫa-ta ši(?)-ut-ta a-ba ḫal(?)-ši(?) ...*

It is therefore quite reasonable to consider that the hieroglyphic preposition [hieroglyph] *a-?* is the equivalent of the cuneiform preposition *a-ba,* i.e. that [hieroglyph] = *b(a).*[1]

Hence we can now read our group in § 40 as 'ally' + *ḫ b(a)-a mi-ni-s*[2] (or in two cases, § 14 (*g*), 'ally' + *ḫ b(a)-a mi-s*). We have no difficulty now in seeing

---

[1] The names which occur containing this character, Bauli the son of Mutallu,—banin, a chief of the 'Nine' (M lii, 1, 2, &c.), Bark, a chief of the 'Nine' (§ 73), give no further proof one way or the other, as I cannot identify them with known kings, although Ba'ali is of course possible as a name, and Ilu-ibni was king of Suḫi. Indeed the opening speech of M ii, 'Saith T(a)-?-ar-s unto his lord(?) Mutallu, "Thy father(?) (and) Benhadad the great have given thee a memorial-stela(?) for the commemoration(?) (glory(?)) of Tesup (Hadad)"', holds out more prospect of confirmation of the value *b(a),* for we have seen that the Assyrian word *abu* 'father' had been taken over into the language of the Hittite cuneiform, and here we have *a-b(a)-u-t(a).* (See § 89.) For *a-b(a)-ir,* see notes to trans. to M ix at end, which shows that *b* and *p* interchange in the hieroglyphs like *k* and *g.* For additional examples of the prep. *a-b(a)* see M i: ix, 2: x, 2, 5, 7, 8: xi, 2, &c.

[2] In three similar texts (Hamath) the *b(a)-a* is omitted altogether.

that this 'ally' + *h* is the causative conjugation 'make alliance'; the *minis*, as was suggested in § 34, seems to be an oblique case of *mini* 'we', which is strengthened by the occurrence of *mis* twice in its place (§ 14, *g*), which points to the same oblique case of *mi* 'I'. But the *b(a)-a* is a difficulty: the easiest way to translate it would be 'Make alliance with us', reading *a-ba*, our pronoun mentioned above. But it is not written *a-ba*, and is never written so in the nineteen cases which I have collected, and therefore we must either consider it as a fanciful method of writing *a-ba*, on the analogy of the spelling of Mutallu and Targu(?) (§ 91), and the higgledy-piggledy arrangement of the very phrase in which this word occurs (see § 14), or that this *b(a)-a* (or *p(a)-a*) is a preposition distinct from anything which we have found. Our knowledge is not yet secure enough to accept the former view, and at the same time I cannot find any equivalent for *bâ* in Hittite cuneiform. Nevertheless, the sense of the group is clear, and for convenience sake I shall adhere to what I think is the most probable rendering, 'Make alliance with us'.[1]

§ 42. Notably at first sight M x from Carchemish, a basalt slab inscribed with eight lines of hieroglyphs and sculptured with a king in high relief, deals with an alliance. The most striking sign in the whole of the system of hiero-glyphs is written here twice, and nowhere else, that of , which (as is discussed in § 87) must refer to the making of blood-brotherhood or an alliance. It is preceded in l. 1 by the name of the god Targu (if our reading in § 11 is right), which occurs again in l. 3 followed by . But in M ix, 2, 4 : xi, 1, also from Carchemish, there is a proper name *Targu-r-s(zi,* &c.) in close connexion with the name [who is also the writer of our text M x], and it does not seem unlikely that the Targu of M x may be an abbreviation for the Targu-ras of M ix.[2] For, as we have seen, the name is followed by the hieroglyph of the open hand (= 'ally'), and if is *mu*, as I suggested in § 31 in the name Mutallu, we should get 'Targu(-ras), my ally'.[3] The full translation at the end will make this clearer.

---

[1] The *a-b(a)-t(a)* which occurs on TA 1 immediately following the phrase 'make alliance with us' must belong to the succeeding sentence. In TA 4 it is interesting to see the phrase : 'ally' : + *h-n-(n(a))* : 'we have made alliance' for the ultimate agreement (§ 37 (3)).

[2] The seal M xxxix, 10 is a case in point, as it contains only the name *Targu* which should be a personal name, since it is on a seal.

[3] *-mu* is a form of *-mi*, the 1st pers. sing. pron. suff., §§ 57, 58.

§ 43. We can thus return to the proof of ▣▣⊩ = *mu*, and we can find additional evidence in the name ⟨glyph⟩ ?-*ar-mu* (M xix, 4), which may be the same as that in a new Jerabis inscription ⟨glyph⟩ which ends with -*mi*. We can see it again as a first personal suffix in TA 3 in ⟨glyph⟩ :*g(k)-mu* 'I will go' (see translation at end).[1]

§ 44. With the view that ▣▣⊩ = *mu* we can proceed to find the value of ▣▣▣, which is apparently used only as an ideogram, and Jensen was probably right in suggesting the meaning 'lord' as its equivalent. We find it written ⟨glyph⟩ ▣▣▣ after a chief's name and his country, e.g. 'lord of lands'[2] (M ix, 1 : x, 1 : xviii, B, 3): M xvi gives ⟨glyph⟩ ⟨glyph⟩ ⟨glyph⟩ ▣▣▣ 'the lord of Tabal' (see translation at end). Compare also the seals M xl, 12, 14.

Now we find a word *ma* in Hittite cuneiform which has all the appearance of meaning 'lord'. It occurs at the beginning of Z 1, a cuneiform letter from Boghaz Keui: *ma-a-an-za LUGAL-uš i-na ᵃˡᵘA-ri-in-na*, 'Unto our lord the king in the city Arinna',[3] and the third paragraph begins *ma-a-an LUGAL-uš*, 'our lord the king'. *Ma-a-an* occurs Y 15, *r*. 8, 11, 35, 40 : C i, 15 : N 6 : *ma-an* B 5. *Ma-aš* is apparently the nominative case N 2 (*nu-uš ma-aš šu-ku-eš-ni*; and cf. *nu ma-aš-ta* Y 14). This nominative assumes a curious form in Y *r*. 42, on account of the adopted Assyrian possessive -*ia* 'my': *a-na AN.UD maš-ši-ia i-na BANŠUR AN.UD ta-a-i* 'Unto the Sun-god, my lord, on the table of the Sun-god, give'. It also occurs thus on E 5, [11], 14[4] : K 4 : and once as *ma-ši-ia*, G 11. The dative case without the suffix 'our' is found twice in W 19, *mahan ma-za a-bu-ia ᵐMur-ši-li-iš il-li-iš ki-ša-at ahi-ia ma-za-gan ᵐMuttalli-iš*, &c.

---

[1] How are we to read ⟨glyph⟩ occurring three times on a text M xxxv from near Tyriaeum (also perhaps Tyrasion, Tyganion, Totarion, or Tetradion)? Are we to see *Ter-wu-um* in it?

[2] I cannot help thinking that the plural is correct here. ⟨glyph⟩, it is true, is used as a determinative for a country, but it may be in its form 'double ⟨glyph⟩', and consequently may well have the value of a *pluralis excellentiae*, as ⟨glyph⟩ 'chiefest god' seems to have, for ⟨glyph⟩ is used for the plural of ⟨glyph⟩ *h* 'great' (§ 38). The phrase ⟨glyph⟩ ⟨glyph⟩ on the 'Tarkondemos' Boss is translated *šar mâti ali*, literally, 'king of country-city'.

[3] On Arinna = the Egyptian Arnna of the Rameses-Khetasar treaty, see Sayce *PSBA.*, xxi, 1899, 196 : xxiii, 1901, 98.

[4] Professor Sayce was the first to see the meaning 'my lord' for *maš-ši-ia* in this passage.

Hence we may consider *ma* in cuneiform = 'lord'. Now we have seen sufficient proof that 𝄞 = *mu*, and hence it is not unreasonable to explain the simple·three strokes without the tang (which has been proved to mean 'lord') as having the value *ma*, which will at once give us an equation similar to the cuneiform *ma* 'lord'. [From the character we might therefore infer that the Hittite word for 'three' was *ma*.]

[We might go a step further and see in the cuneiform *mah-an* in W 19 (by resolution into *ma + h + an*) 'our (?) great lord' (*nu-mu-kan mah-an niši-an-na-za* 'unto me our (?) great lord for our people'?); more readily (*ibidem*) *mah-an ma-za a-bu-ia* 'our great lord to the lord (?), my father': perhaps *ma-ah-ha-an* G 4, 12, 19: *ma-ah-hi-ta-an* ('thy great lord'), Y *r.* 10. At any rate, we find in the hieroglyphs *ma-h-n(a)-nis* 'son (?) of our great lord' (M ix, 2): *te*(?) *san*(*n*) *ma-h-n"A-r-ar-a-ni-t* (?) 'Saith Araranins our (?) great lord' (M xxxii, 1): ?-*B-r-k-k-zi*(or *n*(*a*)(?)): *ma-h-n-s* '... Bark, our great lord' (TA 3: thus my copy). (See translations at end for these quotations.)']

Having now come halfway to proving that 𝄞 𝄞 (*tal,-mu*) = *mu-tal,*, the long Jerabis inscription comes to our help here for the second syllable. Here a name is written 𝄞 ² (the second sign being our supposed *tal* with a 'tang'), and since we know the last character *li*, and are suggesting *tal* for the second, it is plausible that we should read the whole name Mut-tal-li, which is quite in

---

¹ On the basis that the hieroglyphic *ma-h-n-s*, &c., meaning 'our great lord' is found in cuneiform as *mah-an*, &c., it might be profitable to see if the hieroglyphic groups 'god'-*h-m-n* 'by my great god' (M xxi, 4), *mi-t-m* : 'god'-*h-m* '(as) my great god (is) with me' (or similar oath, new Jerabis inscription, § 81) can be identified in cuneiform also, so that we might learn the Hittite word for 'god'.

A word which might possibly solve this difficulty occurs as *arahzanta* in A ii, 19; *arha*, G 4, 12, 14, 16, 19 (cf. Liv. ii, 15): S i, 2: *ar-ha-a-an*, S i, *r.* 9.

A-ra-ah-za-an-ta can be divided up into a noun *arah* with *za + anta* a compound preposition (cf. §§ 37 *note*, 79) similar to *ma-za-gan* (W 19); *ara + h* can then be compared to *arha* quoted above. Examples of its occurrence are:—

(A ii, 19) *nu-ut-ta kat-zun-uš a-ra-ah-za-an-ta* [*aš-š*]*u-u-li har-kan-[d]u* 'to thee his *kat* for (?) the great god (?) . . . .' (G 4, 12, 19) *ma-ah-ha-an ma-aš ar-ha la-a-an-zi.* (G 14) *I ub-na u-zu-uh-ri-in-UD-DU-a ar-ha ia-ta-an-zi* ('I *ubna* of . . . to the great god (?) they have given'). (G 16) *na-aš ar-ha a-ta-an-zi* 'this to the great god (?) they have given'. The simple word *a-ra-an* (?) occurs C iii, 6.

That *ara* = 'god' is therefore only a suggestion: at the same time it is interesting to see the number of personal and place-names beginning with this: Ariamnes and Ariarathes (both names of kings of Cappadocia), Arame (of Bit-Agûsi), Aranda, Ardys, Arnuanta, Arinna (place-name = Boghaz Keui?), Arantu (Orontes), Arpad, Araziki, Argana, Arzašku. It is hardly necessary to compare the Assyrian and Babylonian Bâb-ili, Irba-il, Dur-Aššur, Dur-ili, Dur-Šamaš, Kar-Aššur, &c., for place-names compounded either simply with 'god' or a god's name. But, on the other hand, *ar* is a possible value for the 'house'-sign (§ 18, *note* 2), and *ar-ha* may mean simply 'palace'.

² In M xxiii A, 2 there is a group which might conceivably be read the same way.

keeping with the date of the inscription. By referring finally to § 31, we are, I think, justified in accepting *Mu-tal;* as certain. (On the question of the arrangement of the signs in *Mu-tal,* see § 91.) [The sign ⬚ is difficult to prove otherwise than in the word Mutallu. There is a chief's name ⬚ *Tal-s* in M ix, 2 (cf. 5), xi, 3, and another ⬚ *Tal-ḫ-s* in M xxxii, 1 and xxxiii, 1, but I cannot identify either of them. It is also probable that ⬚ (M iv, A, 3, from Hamath) might be read *Tal-Ḥ Am-s-*'place', for which latter city I would suggest Emesa (Homs), i.e. 'Tal(as) the chief, of Homs'.]

§ 45. Our next problem is to solve the common sign ⬚. ⬚ occurs constantly at the end of a certain class of words. These are ⬚ ⬚ ⬚ = *a-t̤(a)-*⬚ (see § 70), ⬚ ⬚ = *a-s-*⬚ (twice in a Jerabis inscription), ⬚ ⬚ (M ix, 4, three times: TA 4; for others, see § 70); and particularly in the double sign ⬚ (i.e. ⬚ backwards and ⬚).[1] Now we have already seen (§ 10) that ⬚ ⬚ ⬚ *a-t̤(a)-ir* is a verb from the root *t̤a,* and hence the form ⬚ ⬚ ⬚ *a-t̤(a)-*⬚ may reasonably be supposed to be part of the same conjugation. The other words are clearly of the same form, *a-√-*⬚, the only difference being the middle character.

Now *a* prefixed to the root occurs also in Hittite cuneiform[2] :—

a-t̤a-an-zi (G 16, the conjugation of our word ⬚ ⬚ ⬚ with the third plural termination (§ 37) in place of ⬚), *a-an-te-it* (G 5), *a-ap-pa* (Y 6: Z 3, 4), *a-aš-šu* (Y r. 11), *a-aš-šu-uḫ-ta* (W 19), *a-i-iš-mi-it* (Y r. 6), *a-ki-ir* (Y 33, 35), *ar-nu-an-zi* (G 2, 8, 10), *ar-ru-ba-an-zi* (G 5), *az-zi-ik-kan-zi* (G 7, 23), *az-zi-ik-ki-ta-ni* (Y 18).

---

[1] Note, however, that in the proper name ⬚ ⬚ ⬚ (*Kat-t-e*) it is written thus, to make the distinction (§ 60).

[2] But besides this initial *a* we find *i* and *e*: e. g. *i-ia-an-zi* (Y 7, P 4), *ia-t̤a-an-zi* (G 14), *i-ga-it* (A i, 27), *im-mi-ia-an-zi* (G 15), *e-ša-at* (W 19). This seems to indicate that the sound of ⬚ was not given a definite equivalent in cuneiform, but that the scribe wrote down the sound as he thought he heard it

This is supported by the cuneiform value *me-e* for ⬚ ⬚ *mi-*'.

Since -*anzi* marks verbs (§ 37), we may see in this ⬚ *a* an augment, like the Indogermanic *e = Skr. *a*-, Armen. *e*-, Gr. *é*-,[1] an indication of past time.

Now, since the form ⬚ 𓏲 𝕌 indicates a verb in a past tense, we shall find a suggestion for 𝕌 in the common termination of the Hittite cuneiform verbs (besides the augmented forms *a-an-te-it*, *i-ga-it*, &c.):—*bi-i-e-it* (Y 21, 25: S i, *r.* [1], 6), *bi-e-i*[*t*] (C iii, 11), *ki-e-it* (M 2), *ku-it* (Y 16, *r.*19: C ix, 4: L 4, 5: W 19), *pa-(a)-it* (Y 16, *r.* 10: S i, 10: F 2), *te-it* (Y 4, 16: [A ii, 1]). This is a third person; *te-it* is supposed to be a third person 'he says'.[2] Let us suppose then that 𝕌 = *t*, and apply it to the following cases.

§ 46. In the hieroglyphs there occur three phrases containing only slight grammatical changes:—

(1) (New Jerabis)

(2) (New Jerabis)

(3) (New Jerabis)

Here 𓏲𝕌 (𓏲-*n*) and ⬚𝕌 (*a-b(a)-t(?)*) of (1) are replaced by 𓏲 𝕌 (𓏲-*t(?)*) and ⬚𝕌 (*a-b(a)-n*) of (2). As is shown in § 57, the nominal suffixes from the Hittite cuneiform are:

Sing. (1) -*mi*, -*mu*
    (2) -*ta*, -*ti*, -*tu*
    (3) -*š*, -*ši*, -*ša*, -*šu*

Plural (1) -*n*, -*na*, -*ni*
    (2) -*ut*(?)
    (3) -*u*

The 1st and 3rd singular we may obviously eliminate, and as we have here 𝕌 *n* to represent 1st pl., we can reduce the possibilities of 𝕌 to three, -*ta*(-*ti*,-*tu*), *ut*(?), and -*n*: so that our theory for *t* is growing probable.
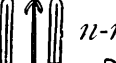
Turn next to the first word in the three quotations. In this word the sign 𝕌 is always written backwards when used with ⊕ as a 'conflate' sign; 𝕌 is a common word either by itself or with the addition ⬚ *r-a*. If *t* be correct here, what is ⊕?
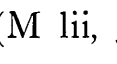
[1] Brugmann, *Comp. Grammar of the Indo-G. Languages* (tr. Conway and Rouse), § 477.
[2] See Sayce, Y p. 64.

A comparison of the words

(a) ⟨glyph⟩ *k-a-n-*⊕ (see above, Nos. 1, 3) with ⟨glyph⟩ : *k-a-n* (M xxxii, 5),

(b) ⟨glyph⟩⊕ *n-m-n-*⊕ (M xi, 3) and even ⟨glyph⟩⊕ *n-m-ni-*⊕ (M xxiii, A, 2) with ⟨glyph⟩ *n-m-n* (new Jerabis),

as well as the forms ⟨glyph⟩ ⊕ (M lii, 3), ⟨glyph⟩ (a new Jerabis inscription), a proper name (§ 49), shows that ⊕ is probably a vowel,[1] and, in common nouns, that probably representing a plural. If so, it is *i* or *e* (see § 63 for the plurals of Hittite cuneiform).

§ 47. Now there is a small word ⊕ ◻◻ in the hieroglyphs which is fairly common, which our hypothesis should make *e-a* or *i-a* equivalent to a word *i-a* in the Hittite cuneiform. First, let us take the latter:—

(A) PREPOSITIVE:

(1) (W 19): *nu-mu* ahi-ia a-na *Rab Me Še ti ut-ti ti-it-ta-nu-ut* mât ali êlî-ti *ia-mu ma(ku)-ni-ia-ah-ha-an-ni.*

(2) (*Ibid.*) *har-ta* ahi-ia *ia-mu.*
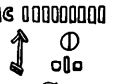
(3) (Y 28) .... *wa-ra-aš gi-im-ra-aš i-aš nu a-bu-u-un-na.*
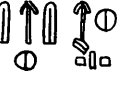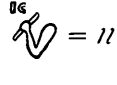
(B) POSTPOSITIVE:
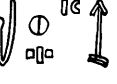
(4) (Y r. 45) *I LU* a-na *AN . UD* [ilu]*Te-li-bi-nu-ia* ŠUM *ša-an* ...

(5) (D 9) *AN . MEŠ MULU . MEŠ-ia* ... *-ši-iš-ša-an*(?).

(1) and (2) *ia-mu*, (3) *i-aš* point to a preposition *ia* with personal suffixes: we may translate (2) '... my brother with me', and (3) '... all of it with him unto our father'.[2] In the postpositive cases (4) can be translated 'One sheep unto the Sun-god with the god Telibinu(?) ... hath (or have) given', and (5), if the text be correct, 'the gods with men'. Now in the hieroglyphs ⊕ ◻◻ occurs written as though it might be pre- or post-positive also, but owing to the Hittites' method of writing their characters in a manner pleasing to the eye it is not always clear which method is intended:—

(6) (New Jerabis) ⟨glyph⟩ = : IX *mi-e-a* (or *e-a-mi*).
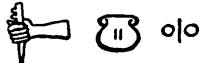
(7) (New Jerabis) 'So-and-so' ⟨glyph⟩ = *n-m-n-e mi-e-a* (or *e-a-mi*): 'engrave'.

(8) (New Jerabis) ⟨glyph⟩ = *t(a)-e-a* (or *e-a-t(a)):.Mi-si-ir-si-* 'place' *t-e.*

---

[1] Menant arrived at the conclusion that it was a vowel ('*Eléments du Syllabaire hétéen*', *Acad. des Inscr.*, xxxiv, 2nd part, 1892, p. 100). He considered that it = *a*.

[2] The preponderance of Assyrian words in this line makes it comparatively easy to translate.

(9) TA 3 〔hieroglyphs〕 = *s-r-a ID: -I-k-n-m* [1]: *g(k)-mu t(a)-e-a* (or *e-a-t(a)*).

(10) M iii, B, 3 〔hieroglyphs〕 = *kat*[2]-*mi n-m-n-an* [3] ‘engrave’ *e-a Tesup-id*(?)-*r-a-ḫ-m-*‘place’ (see § 68 (5)). Cf. also M iv, A, 3.

(11) The first quotation in § 28 : *Pan-am-mi san e-a* (name) ‘brother’-*s*.

Now if ⊙ₒᵢₚ = *e-a* = cuneiform *ia* = ‘with’, it should fit these instances.

In (6) and (7) *mi-e-a* or *e-a-mi* are obviously compounded with the first person singular suffix; hence we get ‘The Nine with me’ for (6). In (8) and (9) *t(a)-e-a* or *e-a-t(a)* is similarly compounded with the second person singular ‘with thee’. (10) is *e-a Tesup-id*(?)-*r* ‘with Benhadad the great’ (or possibly ‘with the city of Benhadad the great’). In (11) for ‘Panammi *san* with R his brother’, see §§ 38, 52, and 73. We may thus consider that we have found the hieroglyphic equivalent of the cuneiform *ia* ‘with’, and that ⊙ = *e* or *i*.

§ 48. 〔hieroglyph〕 *t-e* can now be explained. It is a word which occurs frequently in the hieroglyphs by itself and with the termination 〔hieroglyph〕 oₒₒ, which by our values we must read *r-a*. Similarly we find 〔hieroglyph〕 ‘engrave’ either singly or with the same termination *r-a*: hence we may consider that (1) *t-e* is similarly a verb, (2) 〔hieroglyph〕 oₒₚ *r-a* is a verbal termination. Since a verbal termination -*ra-a* occurs in Hittite cuneiform, we may finally regard the evidence for 〔hieroglyph〕 = *r* as conclusive. Examples of this use of -*ra-a* in cuneiform are:—

(1) *Pa-ra-a* in Y *r.* 38: *LAḪ AN-lim ḫa-at-ki na-aš-ta pa-ra-a*. Z 3, 5: ... *aš-ša ku* (or *ma*)-*aš pa-ra-a*. (But see p. 103 on the possibility of *pa = ḫat*.)

(2) *ša-ra-a* in G 16. *nam-ma-aš GIŠ-NI-it ša-ra-a ḫu-it-ti-ia-an-zi*.

(3) *E-ra-a* in C ii, 3 . . . *ik-ra-a-e e-ra-a ṭa-a-e* &c., and l. 5 .. *e-ra-a ti-im-mar-ta* &c. Uncertain.

Pa in (1) is a well-known verb (see notes to translation of M ix at end). *ša* is less well known in cuneiform,[4] but occurs in the hieroglyphs (see § 32, *note*) in the root *s*. Indeed, we actually find *s + r-a* in hieroglyphs.

(4) TA 4 : (two chiefs) 〔hieroglyphs〕 : ?-‘place’-*zi s-r-a*.

---

[1] It is possible that this is a sculptor's error for 〔glyph〕 *n* (‘our’ and not ‘my’), but my copy from the stone and Hogarth's from the cast both read *m*.

[2] Proved in § 60.   [3] Proved in § 68, *note*.

[3] *Si-i-e-it* Y *r.* 1, 2 is probably an instance : perhaps *e-ša-at* W 19.

An examination of the hieroglyphs will show that this termination *r-a* indicates a third pers. pl. of a verb: beside the exx. in § 46 and (4) above, we find

(5) M ii, 4 'our allies' ᴵᶜ ⟨glyphs⟩ : *ID-r-a m-n-u-s*: *ID-n* 'have graven the leg (?) of the monument (?)'. Compare also

(6) M lii, 3: ᴼᴳ ⟨glyphs⟩ : *san-r-a* 'ally', 'enemy' *-I*(?)*-k-n* 'they make alliance against a common (?) foe'.

Our problem is therefore to investigate the meaning of a verb *t-e*.

In the Hittite cuneiform we find a verb *te*, for which Professor Sayce has suggested the meaning 'say':—

Y 4. *nu wa-ra-at-mu te-it* ('unto my *warat*[1] he speaketh').

Y 16. *a-pa-a-ša pa-it AN . IM-ni te-it ki-i*,[2] &c.

A ii, 1, a letter beginning ᵐ*A-ta-mu ki-[i t]e-it* ᵐ*Lab-ba-[i]a* (or *ana a-ta-mu* 'unto my father', &c.).

Y 17. *at-ti-iš-ši an-ni-iš-ši te-iz-zi* ... ('her father her mother say' ?).

Y 23. ... *IM-ša te-iz-zi nu wa-ra-an ku-it*.

Y 34. ... *ḫa-aḫ-ḫi-ma-aš AN . IM-ni te-iz-zi*.

Y r. 10. *mu-ga-mi AN . UD-ša te-iz-zi*.

B 3. ... *[š]a te-iz-zi ḫal-me-da-aš*.

te-eḫ-ḫu-un occurs Y r. 7 (i.e. √*te* with causative *-ḫḫ-*).

The sense of 'speak' or 'say' fits admirably with the hieroglyphs; the three cases quoted in § 46 all begin with the word *t-e-r-a* 'they say'. Hence, we can say definitely that ⟨glyph⟩ = *t-e* = 'to say': and that just as an ideogram is used by itself for the singular (§ 47 (7) and (10)), and with *r-a* added for the plural (§ 48 (5)), so is a verb spelt out like *t-e* used alone for the singular (§ 47 (8)),and with *-r-a* added for the plural (§ 46) like *s-r-a* (§ 48 (4)) and *san-r-a* (§ 48 (6)). *R-a* apparently marks an imperfect tense.

§ 49. We can now turn back to examine the chiefs' names which are marked by a final *ḫ* (§ 35).

One of these is *Nis-t-Ḫ*, who occurs thus in a new Jerabis inscription; without the *Ḫ* in M xxi, 2, and a new text (here 'tanged'): M lii, 3 (§ 50 (3)) 'Saith

---

[1] Torp, *loc. cit.*, compares the *warat-mu* of A 1, 18 with *bhrātō* 'brother'.
[2] The *ki-i* here looks rather like the Assyrian *ki-i*, a conjunction, 'that'.

Benhadad unto his friend *Nis-t-e*': and TA 4 as ⟨glyph⟩, and probably in M v, 4 as ⟨glyph⟩ '. I cannot identify him with any king's name that I know, but his name is interesting, because it shows that a chief's name may be used with or without a final *h* arbitrarily.

Another name in the long inscription from Jerabis is ⟨glyph⟩, thus ending in *-n(a)²-s-H̱*. The sign ⟨glyph⟩ has such an important bearing on the reading of a king's name that I was very chary of accepting the value *nin* to which all indications pointed, until I found à variant that seemed to me to leave no doubt about it. The following is my evidence for this character *nin*.

§ 50. First it occurs in passages where it seems to demand the meaning 'son' (suggested by Prof. Sayce (see p. 129)). Cp. the Mar'ash texts (§ 29) :—

(1) (M xxi, 1, first paragraph) 'Saith Benhadad unto his brother Mutallu the great, of Gurgum the great; unto his lord ³ Arammi *nin* ⁴*(n)-s : ⁿ-?-ni-li-(n)nis* (i.e. Arammi, the son of -nili)'.

---

¹ ⟨glyph⟩ (or its abbreviation)= *u*, from the following :—In Hittite cuneiform *-u* is the termination of the 3rd pers. pl. suffix (see § 57), *kat-tu, a-ba-u, nu-u-ZUN, u-ul*: this is found in hieroglyphs in *kat-u, a-b(a)-u, t-a-u, mi-r-a-u, u-zi*: the particle *a-u* which appears to be the ⟨glyph⟩ of the hieroglyphs (§ 83): the verbal termination *-un* (§ 71) appears in ⟨glyph⟩, *s-u-n*: the verbal *u-* (in *u-ta-an-zi*, &c.) is found in ⟨glyph⟩ *u-b(a)-r-a-t(a)* (see translation of M ix at end). It would be clear that since Nis-t and Nis-t-e are found, any addition would probably only be the mark of a case-ending, although this need not be so necessarily.
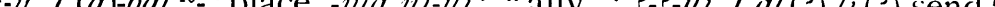
That ⟨glyph⟩ is an abbreviation for ⟨glyph⟩ is obvious from *a-b(a)-* ⟨glyph⟩ (M xxi, 4, &c.), *a-* ⟨glyph⟩ (xxi, 4), and ⟨glyph⟩ (§ 61).

² My hand-copy from the stone has ⟨glyph⟩ *zi*, which seems obviously wrong : the inscription was very often difficult to copy with certainty. ⟨glyph⟩

³ I think Professor Sayce is practically right in translating ⟨glyph⟩ 'king' from the 'Boss of Tarkondemos': I have preferred the word 'lord', as it appears to me to be a term of respectful address to an equal. The value is apparent from a comparison of two groups: (1) the group ⟨glyph⟩ (e.g. Rams.; Boghaz Keui, M xxviii: Kolitolu-Yaila, M xxxv, 2: Fraktin, M xxx, A). This group seems to be used chiefly if not entirely in the Western States. (2) ⟨glyph⟩ used, as an epithet of the king at Fraktin, M xxx, B, and of the king on the Carchemish inscriptions M ix, M xi, and one new one.

(2) (M lii, 1, first paragraph) 'Saith Benhadad unto his ally Mutallu the great, of Gurgum the great; unto his lord Bauli (*n*)*nin-as : Mu-tal;-a-h-nis* (i.e. Bauli, son of Mutallu, the great): "make alliance with us".'

(3) (M lii, 3, second paragraph) 'Saith Benhadad unto his ally *Nis-t-e* *"B*(*a*)*-a-u-li-nin* (i.e. Niste, the son of Bauli): "make alliance with us".'

(4) (M xxi, 1, second paragraph) '(Saith) Benhadad "brother"*-k-ni nin-as* ... *-li-s*: "ally": *-?-? '-am-nin Nis-t B*(*a*)*-a-u-li-nin-as*, &c.' (i.e. 'unto the son of his brother [Mutal]li(?), the son of the ally of my (?) ancestors, Nist, the son of Bauli ').

(5) (M xxi, 2, third paragraph) '(Saith) Benhadad "ally"*-k-ni nin-as : Mu-tal;-a-h-nis*: "ally": *-n*(*a*)*-a-s "B*(*a*)*-a-mi* [6] *nin Li* (or, .. *li*)*-Tesup* [7]: "ally": *-n*(*a*)*-a nis-n*(*a*)*-a "Ar-am-mi nin*(*n*)*-nis "-?-li-s'* (i.e. 'unto the son of his ally Mutallu the great, our ally, Bâmi, the son of Li (*or*, .. li)-Tesup, our ally, our *nis*; Arammi, the son of .. li ').

(6) TA 1

... 'place': 'lord'*-k-n "E-r-s-k-ar nin*(*n*)*-s*: 'ally':? .. ('....unto the lord of the land ... Erskar, son of the ally of [our] ancestors ..') (or read as on p. 124).

The meaning of this last phrase will become clear from Malatia, M xvi, 'We Irhulîni(?), Benhadad, So-and-so, and So-and-so.

 &c. [10]

te (?)*-hi* [11]*-u T*(*a*)*-bal* [10]*-"* place"*-ma ni-ni*: "ally": ?*-?-ni Lal*(?)*-li*(?) send [11] to the

---

Professor Sayce's suggestion that is the royal headdress seems a good one. At any rate, it is not improbable that is closely allied to in meaning: and since we have seen that = 'chiefs', the plural of (§ 38), we should have the value for these groups 'lord of chiefs' or similar meaning, which is exactly what we should expect, the equivalent of the 'king of kings' of the Oriental. It is clear that (§ 44) 'lord of lands' is not far different from on the 'Boss of Tarkondemos'.

[4] To avoid a repetition of the character in type, I am using my value *nin*, always with the reservation that its proof rests on what follows in this section.

[5] Sayce reads from the stone in Constantinople, but the B.M. cast suggests a parallel to M xvi.

[6] Emended from a comparison of M lii, 4, with the B. M. cast.

[7] Read thus for M xxi *nas*. [The value = *nas* is shown on M iii, B, 2 where *n-s* takes the place of this character on M iv, A 2, and iv, B 2: and also on M xxi, 4, where after the 'chair' hieroglyph occurs , which is replaced by *n-as* in a similar passage in M lii, 5.]

[8] Probably a place-name but not easy to read.

[9] *u* or *ir*: see § 69.

[10] For Tabal see translation of M xvi at end.

[11] See § 73 (*a*).

lord of Tabal, son of the ally of our ancestors,[1] Lalli(?): (make alliance with us)'.[2]

In this last case *ni-ni* 'son' replaces the group *nin(n)-s* in (6), thus giving definite indication of the value of the flower-character. With *ni-ni* = 'son' we can translate the first line of M xv, B (§ 3) . . . *ⁿSan(n)-(g)gar-s Bar(?)-ḫu-nin(n)*[3] 'lands'-*ḫ ma(?)*[4] *ni-n-s:* *San-gar-s*, 'Sangar, son of Barḫu(?), great chief of lands, son of Sangar'. The custom of calling a son after his grandfather is well known, so that we may here again see proof that *nin* = *ni-n* = son.[5] Additional proof, if it were needed, is to be found in the Ivriz inscription discussed in § 87 (see also the translation at end), where Tesup-mis, who has been adopted by *A-r-ar-a-s*, calls himself *A-r-ar-a-nin-s* (i.e. Ariarathides), while *A-r-ar-a-s* on the same sculpture greets him as *nᵘ-ni-mi* 'my son'. To conclude the proof of the value of the character *nin* we may notice cases (5) and (6) of the next section, where it is followed and preceded by *n*.

We may therefore read the name of the chief ⟨glyphs⟩ as *Nin-n(a)*[6]*-s-Ḫ* i.e. the Ninni against whom Shalmaneser fought (§ 24).

§ 51. With the value *nin* for ⟨glyph⟩ we may approach what has been perhaps the greatest crux in Hittite hieroglyphics. Who or what is concealed in the following phrase?

(1) M ix, 1 ⟨glyphs⟩

(2) M ix, 2 ⟨glyphs⟩

(3) M ix, 4 ⟨glyphs⟩

(4) M xi, 3 ⟨glyphs⟩

---

[1] These characters are uncommon, and form a group. It seems to me that this must mean 'the dead' or some similar phrase, and certainly the whole phrase 'ally of our dead fathers' is a most probable one. The other occurrences of which I know are M xxi, 2, *bis*, and M lii, 4, where the same meaning is suggested (see translation at end and § 87); if this be right, the ideographs might be explained as a burial-shaft and a coffin.

[2] See § 14 (*c*).

[3] I would suggest the name Bar(?)-ḫu which occurs on TA 3, but it is a doubtful reading. See also § 73.

[4] Character doubtful, but it may be *ma*, or perhaps the title discussed on p. 77.

[5] For syntax and nominative of this word, see §§ 66, 84.

[6] Allowing, of course, for the emendation of my hand-copy mentioned in § 49, *note*.

(5) New Jerabis 〔hieroglyphs〕

(6) M xviii, B (from Gürün) 〔hieroglyphs〕[1] As is noted in the preceding section, 〔hieroglyph〕 is followed by *n* in (5) and preceded by *n* in (6).

(7) M x, 1 〔hieroglyphs〕

(8) M xi, 2 〔hieroglyphs〕
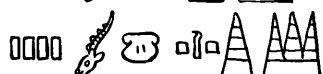
(9) One of the new Jerabis inscriptions has apparently for a distinct word 〔hieroglyph〕

Now these groups (1)–(4), (6)–(8) have hitherto been held by general consensus to contain the word Carchemish, from the time that it was suggested by M. Six to Professor Sayce (see *PSBA*. xxv, 1903, 142) until Jensen (*Hittiter und Armenier*, 30), whose views are endorsed by Messerschmidt (*Corpus, Nachtrag*, 9). I cannot in the least agree with this identification: and (9) from Carchemish, badly rubbed though it may be, with the characters mutilated, throws its evidence into the balance against this, by giving us (if my reading be correct) 〔hieroglyphs〕 as distinct from the latter half of this long group. Since the groups (1)–(8) all indicate that a place-name is concealed towards the end of this group, and (9) possibly shows that the first two characters form a word by themselves, it is not unlikely that this first group, which is sometimes marked with a tang, is a personal name. This becomes certain when the final epithets of (1) and (7) 'ruler of countries', and of (2)–(5) 'lord of chiefs' are taken into consideration; and hence the place-names mentioned in the groups will show his dominions. Eliminating his name we get:

〔hieroglyphs〕 *san Nin-mi-s-'*city',

〔hieroglyphs〕 *san As-ir-'*city'-'country',

〔hieroglyphs〕 *san As-r-a-'*city'-'country'.

Obviously *san Ninmis, san Asir*, and *san Asra,* 'san of Nineveh', 'san of Assyria'. Then in that case does 〔hieroglyph〕 *san* = 'king'?

---

[1] This reading is due to Professor Sayce.

[2] This character is obvious on the stone in the B.M.

[3] Rams. 4 appears to contain this name 〔hieroglyphs〕 *As-ir-ci-'*country', 'in Assyria'.

§ 52. *San* and *šan* occur in Hittite cuneiform thus: (A ii, 7, 8) *nu* [*s*]*a-an ḫa-an-ṭa-an am-me-el ḳa*[*r*]*-ṭ*[*a*]*b-ia* [*š*]*a-an ḫi-iš tu-ši*. This *ša-an* occurs on Y 22 *AN . UD-un ša-an ḫi-eš-kan-zi*, and inasmuch as *sa-an* is followed by *ḫa-an-ṭa-an* and *ša-an* by *ḫi-eš* it is possible that *ša-an* = *sa-an*, the √ḫ being our root 'great'. 'The Sun-god, the great king' is plausible for Y 22. *Bît*(?)-*sa-a-ni* occurs on a Tel-el-Amarna tablet (Berlin, 199, 7), but the context gives no help; 'house of the king', i.e. 'palace', is tempting, but there is no evidence for it.

The hieroglyphs will help us more:—

(1) (§ 28) 'Panammi *san* with R his brother.'

(2) M xi (§ 40) traces, followed by *san-e a-b*(*a*) : "*Pan-am-mi* '(So-and-so) the kings with Panammi'.

(3) M xxxv, 1 (Sayce's corrections) where the place-name is followed by ▯▯▯▯ ⬓, which, as it stands, can be read 'great king'. Similarly in l. 2 ⬡𝓎⬡ (*Bar*(?)-*lal*(?)-*s*), the name of the king, is followed by ▯▯▯▯ ⬓⬓ *san-s*.

(4) ✳ ⊸ᴨ⎯ ▯▯▯▯ M lii, 4, looks like a king's name ('So-and-so the king').

(5) We find some personal names thus compounded: M x, 2 ⊕⬡ ▯▯▯▯, TA 4 ⊕⬡ ▯▯ ▯▯ ⬡⬡ ⬡⬡ ⟓,and probably (new Jerabis) ⬡ ⬡ 🜚 ⬡⬡,¹ the name of a 'chief of the Nine' (M x, 2), who is [⬡]-*as* of U-'m-ḳ, i.e. Unḳi, the Amḳ of the Zakir stele (§ 23, *note* 1) and present day. His name appears similar to Chemoshmelek, Malkiel, Elimelek, Adramelek, Nabû-malik, &c. Compare also the seal-names M xxxix, 6 𝖴𝖴 𝖵 ⌇⌇⌇⌇ ⬓ *Tesup-?-san-s* (𝖵 = ⬡ ?) 'Tesup is king': M xl, 6 𝖴𝖴 ⬡ ▯▯▯▯ 'Tesup, friend of the king', or 'Tesup, befriend the king', like Adad-nirari or Adad-šarri-uṣur (if the 'hand' sign is that out-stretched in welcome).

Notable is the beginning of the three Hamath texts M iii, B, iv, A, B, 'Saith unto ⬡ 🜚 *san-s* "*Ir-ḫu-li-n*(*a*)-*s*.' The hieroglyphs read *ḫu : an* (§§ 38, 68 *note*); the verb 'to say' takes an accusative (§ 85), and I can only see in this, 'Saith Irḫulina unto the nobles of the king, ("Make alliance with us for (? or against) the king of Hamath")' (§ 80).

---

¹ Read: ? -*s*(?)-*an Am-k* '?-*san* of Amḳ, &c.' *s-an* (§ 68, *note*) appears to be equivalent to ▯▯▯▯ : cf. (?) also *s-n-zi*, TA 6 (see translation at end). Comparable to this name is the name ⬡ \\// ⬓ M xxxi. The god-name ⊕⬡ occurs on M xliii, 8, with 'god'-*Targu*, under the winged sun-figure, and hence I have assumed it to be the sign for the sun-god. With regard to Amḳ, I cannot help thinking that *U-'m-k* is the proper reading on M xxxii, 3.

If *san-s* means 'king', we can compare Συέννεσις, a common name of the kings of Cilicia, the first known dating back to the sixth century. The final *-is* would be the Greek termination added to *san-s*: the *upsilon* in the first syllable would represent that helping vowel which is found in Ariarathes (spelt *A-r-ar-a-s* in Hittite), perhaps, too, in Ariamnes, the Assyr. Kiakki (? for Kâki, which also occurs, spelt *k-a-k* in Hittite), and the Turkish forms Kiamil for Kamil, &c.

§ 53. At any rate there appears to be considerable probability that ▯▯▯▯ *san* = 'king', and in our groups in § 51 we have 'king of Nineveh' and 'king of Assyria' with the same name ▯ ▯ in front of them. Moreover, these groups are followed by either 'ruler of countries' ((1),(7)) or 'lord of chiefs' ((2), (3), (4), (5)). Hence we must see some king of Assyria concealed in this name, and since the texts containing it also mention Panammi, Arame, Katê, and Kirrî, it must be Shalmaneser II. But this name is too long syllabically for these two characters, and if we read it thus (in syllables) it must be shortened to the form found in Hosea x. 14, Shalmân, which is supposed by Wellhausen and Nowack to be another Shalmaneser.[1] On the other hand, the first character represents a god's name in other passages, and it may be that here as in the other proper name ▯ ▯ ▯, the sign for 'god' has been purposely omitted (as also in M xxxii, 1, and the seals M xxxix, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9), and in such a case it would be difficult to define the value of ▯. In that case the god would be the equivalent of Šulman.

§ 54. I only know one other case in which the first character occurs; it is in another name in texts of the same period as the above:—
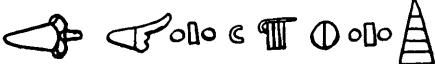
(M 1) ▯ ▯ ▯[2]▯▯ : and on a new Jerabis text where the termination is *-eni* in the place of *-es*.

Speculation on the possibilities of this name as yet seems ill-advised, and unfortunately it is almost as unprofitable to seek help from ▯ = *man* (?).

§ 55. This latter character occurs (1) in a place-name in a new Jerabis

---

[1] Abbreviations in Assyrian are not uncommon : Šuzubu is short for Nergal-ušezib or Mušezib-Marduk. Compare also Pul. Indeed, on M x, it looks very much as though the Hittite king's name also was abbreviated (see translation at end).

[2] This character occurs or is omitted apparently arbitrarily after the god Tesup's name; it would appear to be the winged disc (see Ramsay's inscription, *PSBA*. xxxi, 1909, 83). It occurs alone syllabically in M iii, B, 2 : vii, 1 (?): xii, 3 : TA 6.

inscription ⟨glyphs⟩ *"?-man(?)-a-ḫ-* ' place ' (it is almost certain that the broken sign over the ideograph for ' land ' does not belong to this word) ; (2) a place-name M iv, A, 2 ⟨glyphs⟩ *"Ar(?)-man(?)-a-ḫ-nas-e-a-* ' place ' ; (3) a chief's name in M xi, 3, ⟨glyphs⟩ *Man(?)-am-s-Ḥ*, recurring in l. 4 [1]. We find Arman (?) of (2) paralleled in the two texts M iv, B : iii, A by *B-s-ḫ-r*, which might be Tel-Bašar (ancient Til-Bašerê), and ?-*r-an*, for which I can suggest nothing. Professor Sayce, reading ⟨glyph⟩ as *ga*, would make Argana out of (2), a place near Hamath, but this is impossible unless we read it *gan*, which is against our suggestion *man*. If Ar-man were right, and if there were a change from *r* to *l*, Arman might be Alman, Aleppo : or possibly, recognizing the Hittite cuneiform *pi* = *wi* and the hieroglyphic *mi* = *wi*, and that *d* took the place of *n* as in *A-nin-na* = the Adinna of the Assyrian records, we might see Arpad in Arman. (1) is entirely unsolved. This, too, might be some form representing Ḫalman, Aleppo, but with so little support it is far better to leave the question unsolved without confusing the issue until more texts are published. This need not interfere with the translation ' [Shalmaneser (?)] king of Nineveh ' or ' king of Assyria ' which I have suggested.

§ 56. This is a fitting place to discuss whether the form ⟨glyphs⟩ *"Pan-mi san-s* ' Pan-mi, the king ', is a variant spelling of Pan-am-mi (which is defined once by *san* following). The two never occur on the same text (nor does either occur on M lii, which mentions Garali, who was the father of Panammi). The syllable *Pan* is marked by the tang in the form of a curved line over the forehead, and the whole is thus distinguished from ⟨glyphs⟩ *te(?)-san-mi* ' I have said ' (M v, 1, 4) ; this form *"Pan-mi san-s* occurs M ix, 1 : xv, A, 1 (?): xix, C, 18 : xxi, 4 : *"Pan-mi san-nas* occurs M xxi, 3 : *"Pan-mi* without *san-s*, M xxii : xxxii, 1, 4 : *"Pan-mi-u*, M xxi, 4. I am inclined to believe that this is only Panammi spelt incorrectly : the places Mar'ash, Carchemish, Izgin, Bulgar-Maden (if the text is right) are all probable places to find his alliance courted : even in Bulgar-Maden we find Nis-t, a king of the Mar'ash texts, quoted next his name (if I have read the occurrences aright). It is certainly a curious coincidence that the phrase ' "throne"-*n-(n)as-mu-k-n* ' should occur only in M xxi, 4, spoken by *"Pan-mi-u*, and in M lii, 5 by ' Gar-[a-li ?], son of the Nine ' (Garali being mentioned under (probably) the same title in l. 4).

---

[1] I can only offer a very poor suggestion here, that this name occurs in M viii, 4, *M-n-n(a)-m*.

The Personal Pronouns.

§ 57. From a discussion of some of the proper names we can now turn to the grammar, examining the grammatical forms in both Hittite cuneiform and hieroglyphs. The personal pronouns (suffixes) are as follow in Hittite cuneiform [1] :—

Sing. 1 : -MI : *AN . UD-mi* 'for my Sun-god ', A i, 13 : *kat-ti-mi* 'as for me ', A i, 3 : *E . ZUN-mi DAM . MEŠ-mi DÚ . MEŠ-mi*, &c., 'unto my houses, my wives, my sons, &c. (there is well-being)', *ibid.*

-MU : *ma-mu* 'my lord', A i, 17 : *wa-ra-at-mu, ibid.*, 18 : *nu-mu* 'to me', A i, 25, &c. : *ia-mu* 'with me', W 19.

(attached to nom. sing.) -MIŠ : *ha-la-aš-mi-iš* Y *r.* 6 : *amha-lu-ga-tal-aš-mi-iš* 'my messenger', A 1, 23 : *ki-iš-ši-ra-aš-mi-iš-wa* Y 39 : cf. Y 24.

(attached to acc. sing.) -MIN : *ha-lu-ga-tal-la-an-mi-in*, A i, 12.

(attached to an oblique case pl.) -MAŠ : *DÚ . MEŠ-aš-ma-aš* 'my sons', Y 42.

Sing. 2 : -TA : *kat-ta* 'as for thee', A i, 7 : *nu-ut-ta* 'unto thee', A i, 22.

-TU : (cf. *tu-el* A i, 24, &c.).

-TI : *DÚ . SAL-ti* 'for thy daughter', A i, 22 : *E . ZUN-ti DAM . MEŠ-ti DÚ . MEŠ-ti*, &c., ' unto thy houses, thy wives, thy sons, &c. (may there be well-being)', A i, 8.

(attached to nom. sing.) -TIŠ(?) : *u-uš-ti-iš*? C ii, *r.* 7.

(attached to acc. sing.) -TIN : *amha-lu-ga-tal-la-at-ti-in* A i, 19 : perhaps *kab-bu-wa-at-tin*, Y 19.

(attached to oblique case pl.) -TAŠ? (cf. *ki-iš-ta-aš*, Y *r.* 17 *bis*).

Sing. 3 : -Š : *nu-uš* 'to him', Y 11, 15, &c. ; *i-aš* 'with him ', Y 28.

-ŠI : *nu-uš-ši* 'unto her', A i, 14 (*nu-ši* 'unto him ?', Al *r.* 13) : *SAG. DU-ši* 'for her head' A i, 14 : *at-ti-iš-ši an-ni-iš-ši* 'to his(?) father, to his(?) mother', Y 17.

-ŠA(?) : *ha-lu-ga-tal-la-ša*, A i, 23 : *iluTe-li-bi-nu-ša*, Y *r.* 9.

-ŠU : (*na-ak-tam-šu* Y *r.* 14, with *na-ak-tam-mi* in the next line).

[The forms *nu-šu-uš*, Al 8 : *an-tu-uh-šu-uš*, A i, 25, are possibly to be inserted here : *-ša-an* is common : *E . AN-iš-ša*(or *ta*, as in the cuneiform ?)-*an* 'his (?) temple', O 3 : *ka-ni-eš-ša-an* W 19 : cf. (?) *nu-uš-ša-an*, Y *r.* 26 : particularly *ma-a-an-ša-an* 'his (?) lord', Y *r.* 8 : *na-aš-ša-an*, Y *r.* 7, &c.]

Pl. 1 : -NA : *a-bu-u-un-na* 'our father' (pointed out by Sayce), Y 27, 28, 31 : *ma-a-an-na-kan* 'unto our lord'? N 3.

---
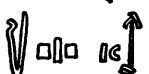
[1] Sayce gives the following forms (Y p. 49) : *miš* or *meš*, pl. *maš*, 'mine', gen. dat. *mi* (*mu*), acc. *min* : *taš, tiš* 'thine', gen. dat. *ta, ti, tu*, acc. *tan, tin*, pl. *taš; šaš* 'his'. See also Torp and Bugge in Knudtzon, *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe.*

-NI (there are several words ending in -*ni*, but the meaning is not certain): but *ma-ni* 'our lady (?)', A i, 12, is possible.

-N: *ma-a-an* 'our lord', Z i, 9: *ma-a-an-za* 'unto our lord', *ib.* 1.

-NAŠ (cf. *na-aš-ta* 'unto us'?, A i, 19).

(attached to acc. ?) -NAN (cf. *ḫal-za-a-i-na-an*?, A ii, 15: *ku-na-an-za-na-an*, Y 6).

Pl. 2: -UT? in *nu-ut*, Y 44: *ti-(in)-nu-ut*, Y 8, 20 (cf. *ti-(in)-nu-zi*, Y 15, 27): *ti-it-ta-nu-ut*, W 19? (cf. the form *ta-a-ḫu-u-ut*..(D 19)).

Pl. 3: -U: *kat-tu*, E 8, 16 *bis*: *a-ba-u* 'with (or from) them', Al *r.* 8, 11: *nu-u-ZUN* 'unto them', Y 12: *u-ul*, Y *passim*: A ii, 4, 6, 8: S i, *r.* 4. There are also several words ending in -*u*, but the meaning is uncertain.

The Absolute Pronoun.

In § 6 we have already seen *me-e* 'I am'; 'myself' was suggested for *i-ia-zi* (Y p. 49) by Sayce, and since then it has been settled by Z 1, 2, which is the greeting of a letter to the king *ša-li-im i-ia-zi* 'I am well', the word *iâzi* being borrowed from the Assyrian *iâši*. But the most common independent pronominal series is found by adding the suffixes to a base *kat*, i.e. *kat-ti-mi* (A i, 3), *kat-ta* (A i, 7), *kat-tu* (E 8, 16 *bis*). Their use is clear from A i, 3 ff. *kat-ti-mi DMK-in* 'I am well' followed by a long list 'it is well with my houses, my wives, &c.' The next register (l. 7) begins *du-uk-ka kat-ta ḫu-u-ma-an DMK-in e-eš-tu* 'as for thee, mayst thou be very well'.[1]

§ 58. The corresponding pronouns in the hieroglyphs are:—

Sing. 1: -MI: 〔hieroglyphs〕 *kat-(t(a))-mi* 'as for me' (§ 61): 〔hieroglyphs〕 *e-a-mi* 'with me' (§ 47): 〔hieroglyphs〕 *mi-t:-mi* 'with me' (§ 81): 〔hieroglyphs〕 *t(a)-a.:-mi* 'to me' (§ 80): 〔hieroglyphs〕 *ḫu:-mi-zi* 'among(?) my nobles' (TA 5): verbal suffix: 〔hieroglyphs〕 *a-an-t:-mi:* (M ix, 4).

-MU: 〔hieroglyphs〕 'ally'-*mu* 'my ally' (§ 42).

-M: 〔hieroglyphs〕 *mi-t-m* 'with me' (new Jerabis, §§ 35, 81): 〔hieroglyphs〕 'enemy'-*k-n-m* 'against my enemy' (§ 33, *note*).

-M-N: 〔hieroglyphs〕 'god'-*ḫ-m-n* (M xxi, 4), apparently 'by my great god' in an oath.

-MI-N (are we to include here M ii, 5, *r-n-mi-n*?).

---

[1] Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, pp. 270 ff.: *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe* (with additions by Torp and Bugge).

Sing. 2: -T(A): ⟨glyph⟩ *kat-t(a)* 'as for thee' (§ 61): ⟨glyph⟩ *a-b(a)-t(a)* 'with thee'

(§ 46): ⟨glyph⟩ *k-a-n-e-t(a)* 'thy friends(?)' (§§ 46, 88): ⟨glyph⟩ *a-b(a)-u-t(a)* 'thy father'(?) (§89): verbal suffix ⟨glyph⟩ *san-m-t(a)* 'I will make with thee' (M ix, 2).

-TAN: ⟨glyph⟩ *n-m-n-t-an* 'thy covenant' (§ 68).

Sing. 3: -S: ⟨glyph⟩ *kat-s* (§ 61): -*k-n-s* (§ 33, *note*): 'Panammi the king with R brother-⟨glyph⟩' (§ 28).

[-SAN : are we to consider the following as an example ?

⟨glyphs⟩

mi-r-a ḥ;-s-n(a) 'god'-*r-e ar-k-ni* (read thus (?)) ... 'before his chief(s) by the gods we have sworn (?)' (a possible translation ; see translation at end, M vi). Cf. also *ḥ-s-n(a)*, vii, 1.]

Pl. 1 : -NA: ⟨glyphs⟩ : 'ally' : -*n(a)-a* 'our ally' (M xxi, 3) (also *nis-n(a)-a* 'our son').

-NI : ⟨glyph⟩ *k-a-ni* 'our friend (?)' (for *k-a-n-ni*, § 46): 'ancestors'-⟨glyph⟩ *ni* (§ 50): ⟨glyph⟩ *kar-ni* 'our *kar*' (M ix, 5): also 'ally'-*ni* 'our alliance (*or* hands)' M xxxiv, A, 2: *ID-k-ni* 'our war' (M ix, 5).

-N: ⟨glyph⟩ *kat-n* 'we (are)' (§61): ⟨glyph⟩ *a-b(a)-n* 'with us' (§ 46).

-N(A): *s-e* 'ally'-*n(a)* 'document(s) of our alliance' (M xxxiv, A, 3).

-AN: ⟨glyph⟩ *m-n-u-k-n-an* 'for our memorial(?)' (M ii, 4):
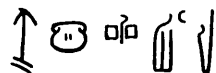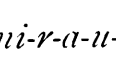
⟨glyph⟩ *mi-r-a-an*[1] :*t-e* 'before us he hath said' (M ii, 6): '(as) the god Tesup ⟨glyph⟩ *mi-t-an*(?) (is) with us' (new Jerabis) (also *n-m-n-an*, M i: iii, B, 3: iv, A, 3: iv, B, 2).
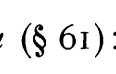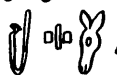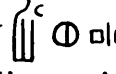
-NAS (cf. ⟨glyph⟩ *kat-n-s* (§ 61)): ⟨glyph⟩ 'brother'-*nas* 'our brother' (M vii, 1) (cf. 'city'-*ḥ-(an)-n-s* (or *nas*) 'our great city' (M iii, B: iv,

---

[1] A division-mark has been omitted in the hieroglyphs here.

A, B): 'throne'-*n-(n)as* 'our (?) throne' (M xxi, 4: lii, 5)): verbal suffix *ar-k-n-as* (M vi, 3).

-NIS probably, in *ar-nis* 'join us' as a verbal suffix (translations to M xxi at end). (Is *nin* (M ix, 4) as a verbal suffix, or *ni-n* (M ii, 6) as a nominal suffix, to be placed here?)

Pl. 2: -UT? Cf. ↑ ⊡ ◻◻ 𝔩ᶜ 𝔦 *mi-r-a-u-t* 'before you' (?) (M xxxii, 5): ⊕ ◻◻ 𝔩ᶜ 𝔦 *e-a-u-t* 'with you' (*ib.* 3): or should we see it in 𝔲 𝔶 𝔮 *t-u-zi* (M xi, 3), like the *tu-el* of the cuneiform? [Is '440 *t-u*' (M viii, 3) to be placed here?]

Pl. 3: -U: ⚘𝔶 *kat-u* (§ 61): ◻◻𝔰𝔶 *a-b(a)-u* 'with them' (§ 40, M xv, A, 2): 𝔲 ◻◻𝔶 *t(a)-a-u* 'to them' (§80): 𝔶𝔮 *u-zi* 'for them' (§ 37, *note* 1, TA 5, 7), and probably 𝔩ᶜ ⊕ ◻◻ *e-a-u* 'with them' (M xxxiii, 9). (As an example of words ending with -*u*, are we to see it in the -*iu* of *m-ni-u*, from *m-n-u*, M ii, 2? (see translation of M ii at end).

The Absolute Pronoun.
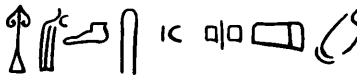
§ 59. We have seen (§§ 6, 19) that both ↑◻◻ *mi-'* or *mi-a* 'I (am)' and ↑↑◻◻ *mi-ni-'* or *mi-ni-a* 'we' occur, with an oblique case ↑ 𝔞 *mi-s* and ↑↑𝔞 *mi-ni-s* (§ 14). It seems that the series formed by adding the suffixes to the base ⚘ is more common.

§ 60. By following up the suffixed pronouns in the hieroglyphs we find that -*mi*, -*t(a)*, -*s*, -*n* (-*nas*), -*u* can all be appended to the base ⚘ (see §§ 58, 61), which, on the analogy of the Hittite cuneiform *kattimi*, *katta*, &c. (§ 57), would lead us to read this character *kat*. Fortunately there is sound proof of this from at least one proper name, and perhaps two, in the hieroglyphs. One is the name of the district Ḳatna (*Anp.*, King, *Annals*, 281), M ix, 4 ⚘ 𝔩 ◻◻𝔶 𝔦 *Kat-n-a-u-t* (see end for a fuller translation), the -*a-u-t* being the gentilic termination as in *K-a-u-a-u-t* below. The second is still better vouched for: ⚘𝔲 ⊕ ℭ "*Kat-t-e-H* (M lii, 5) is evidently a chief, both from the 'tang' and the *h*; the name occurs

again in ix, 4 (and possibly in M vi, 2: xix, 5, 7: lii, 3); in the long Jerabis inscription it occurs in such a way as to leave no doubt who is meant, settling at the same time definitely the value of 𝕴 = *u*, thus ⌂ □□ 𝕴 □□ 𝕴 ⑃ ⑆ ⊕ [1]

K-a-u-a-u-t Kat-t-e 'the tribe Kauai of Katte'. Katê (as the Assyrian records spell him) was chief of the Kauai (§ 27).

§ 61. With the value *kat* proved, we can examine the occurrences of this pronoun:

1st pers. sing. *kat-mi*: (1) (§ 47 (10)) *kat-mi n-m-n-an* [2] 'engrave' *e-a Adad-id*(?)-*r a-h-m-*'place', 'I our agreement engrave with Benhadad the great['s city(?)]'. A similar phrase occurs on M iv, A, the difference lying in the name *Tal*(?)-*H Am-s-*'place', 'Talas(?) the chief of Ams (Homs?)' (§ 44).

(2) ⑆⑆⑆ ⌂ *kat-mi:g(k)*; 'I (will) come' M viii, 2. On *g(k)* as an ideogram see § 70. Cf. also M i: iv, B, 2: xxxiv, I. The form ⑆⑆⑆ *kat-t(a)-mi* occurs on a new Jerabis inscription.

2nd pers. sing. *kat-t(a)*: (1) (§ 46 (2)) *t-e-r-a kat-t(a) k-a-ni a-b(a)-n san(n)-s-t(a)*; 'They say "Thou (as) our friend(?) with us shalt act".' On *k-a-ni* see § 88. Cf. M x, 5.

3rd pers. sing. *kat-s*: (1) (M ii, 6) ⑆ 𝕺 ⓘ 𝕴⑆⑆ 𝕵 ⓘ *kat-s*: ?-*ni-n t-e*: 'He to our(?) alliance(?) saith'. On the meaning 'alliance' see § 67, *note* 1.

(2) New Jerabis ⑆ 𝕺 𝕴 ⑆ ⓘ □□ ⊏⊐ 𝅘 *kat-s* ?-*n* : *a-t(a)-ir* 'He a ... (?) hath given'. The ideogram is difficult: a character somewhat similar occurs in TA 4, 5 (*bis*). Cf. also M viii, 4: xi, 4, 5: xv, B, 2: xxiii, 3; Ramsay, *PSBA*. 1909, 83.

1st pers. pl. *kat-n*: (1) (§ 46, 1) *t-e-r-a kat-n k-a-n-e-t(a) a-b(a)-t(a)* 'They say "We (are) thy friends(?) with thee"'.

(2) (*ib.* 3) *t-e-r-a kat-n k-a-n-e a-san-n-t(a)* 'They say "We (as) friends(?) have acted towards thee"'

---

[1] I copied these two characters ⑆, an obvious error.   [2] See § 68, note 1.

(3) (TA 4) [hieroglyphs] :*kat-n:t-e:1;* 'We are one speech' (i.e. in accord) or more simply (*ib.* 5) [hieroglyphs] :*kat-n:I;* 'we are one'. Cf. M xi, 4.

2nd pers. pl. (not found).

3rd pers. pl. *kat-n:* (1) A new Jerabis inscription [hieroglyphs]

[hieroglyphs] : "*Mut-tal-li-n-t(a) kat-u s-r-a* 'To Muttallu they have written (?)'. (On *s-r-a* see §§ 32 *note,* 69: on *-n-t(a)* § 79.)

(2) M xlviii, 2 [hieroglyphs] :*kat-u-k-n:a-t(a)-ir* 'to them he hath given'.

§ 62. There are some other forms with *kat* which must be mentioned here.

(1) *Kat-n-s,* which seems to be an accus. 1st pers. pl. New Jerabis:

[hieroglyphs] *t(a)-a kat-n-s* 'for us' (§ 80).

(2) *Kat-k* (which may be a proper name ?), M xii, 1, 3 : xxxiii, 9: xlvi, 2.

(3) *Kat;-a,* M 1 and xlvi, 1, for which I cannot suggest any explanation unless it be a form of *kat-u.*

The Hittite Noun.

§ 63. The noun in cuneiform shows the following cases :[1]

Sing. nom. *-uš, -aš:* *AN. UD-uš,* Y *r.* 11 : *LUGAL-uš,* A ii, 16 : *AN.IM-aš* Y 21 : *am ha-lu-ga-tal-aš,* A i, 23.

   acc. *-un, -an:* *AN. UD-un,* Y 21, 22, 26: *ilu Te-li-bi-nu-un,* Y 29: *NI-an,* A i, 14 : *an ha-lu-ga-tal-la-an,* A i, 12.

   gen. *-aš:* *I su-ha-la-li-ia AZAG-GI-aš,* A i, 15.

   dat. *-i:* *AN. UD-i,* Y 21 : *LUGAL-i,* Z i, 15.[2]

---

[1] The nominative and accusative have long been known ; Sayce considers that the genitive-dative case was expressed by a vowel, and that *-ša* denoted a case of dependency and probably the vocative. ' The nom. and acc. pl. terminated in *-aš* and *-uš,* as well as in *-t* or *-d,* but the relation between the two terminations is not yet clear. *-an* appears to have been the suffix of the gen. pl.' (Y p. 48). See Torp and Bugge in Knudtzon, *Die zwei Arzawa-Briefe.*

I believe the dative is best exemplified by (1) *AN.IM-aš AN.UD-i bi-i-e-it* (Y 21) where the god Hadad is nom. and 'sun-god' (i.e. the king ?) is in an oblique case, not the accus., after *bi-i-e-it,* a verb. In Y 9, 17, 26, 31, 34, 37 occurs a word or name *ha-ah-hi-ma-aš* of which *ha-ah-hi-im-mi* is found in Y 38. Certain names occur in the nominative without *-š.*

[2] *AN.IM* makes *AN.IM-ni,* Y 34.

? abl. -*ša*: *AN. UD-ša*, Y *r.* 10: *AN.LM-ša*, Y 20, 23: ^{ilu}*Te-li-bi-nu-ša*, Y *r.* 9: ^{am}*ḫa-lu-ga-tal-la-ša*, A i, 23.

This last case, the ablative, seems to me somewhat doubtful, and the -*ša* may perhaps be a suffix (cf. § 57).

Masc. Plural. Nom. -*e*[1]:

> An oblique case -*aš*[2]: *AN.MEŠ-aš*, Y *r.* 8, 9, 10: *GAL-GAL-aš* A i, 4, 8: *HAR.SAG.MEŠ-aš*, Y 10: [neuter, *KUR-e*, A i, 27?]
>
> [accus. -*an*: *AN.MEŠ-an*, Y *r.* 5].

I am inclined to see the genitive plural in the cuneiform -*ai* in A ii, 14 *ki-i-kan ab-bi ku-iš eš-šar-[aš] ḫal-za-a-i na-an an-pa .. ḫa-at-ta-an-na-aš Lʿ G.4L-uš*; perhaps (21) *zi-ik-mu eš-šar-aš aš-šu-u-li ḫa-at-ra-[a]-i nam-ma-za tag-an EGIR-an i-ia*. *Ḫa-at-ra-a-i* also occurs *ibid.*, 13, but it is difficult to decide whether words ending in -*i* are not in the dative singular. Compare also C ii, 3 *ik-ra-a ma* (?) *ni tab* (?) ... with C ii, *r.* 3 ... *ik-ra-a-e e-ra-a ta-a-e*.

The Hieroglyphic Equivalents.

§ 64. About the masc. nom. sing. -*s* there is no difficulty[3]: the proper names end either in 𓅬 (*Araras*, M xxxiii, 1: *Targu-r-s*, ix, 2, &c.), or, like Labbaia, have no case ending (*Tesup-id*(?)-*r*, § 33, *note*; "*Gu-am* T.4 3): *Pan-mi san-s*, 'Panmi, the king', gives an example of -*s* with common nouns (§ 52 ff.). The accus. sing. in -*n*(*a*) is clear, e.g. 'bowl'-*n*(*a*) (§ 7): *gu-'m-n*(*a*) (see notes to M i at end).

The genitive in -*s* is equally clear: (M ii, 1) 'Saith T(a)-?-ar-s unto Mutallu the great, his son (?), Thy father (?) [hieroglyphs]

Tesup-id(?)-*r a-ḫ-s* "god"-*Tesup-s: kar-k-n*, &c., (and) Benhadad for the glory (?) of Tesup (*mniu* [their memorial (?)] have given thee).' (M ii, 4) 'our allies (?) have graven [hieroglyphs] *m-n-u-s: ID-n*: "the leg (?) of the *mnu* [memorial (?)]".' M iii, B, 1: iv, A, 1: iv, B, 1 show it in [hieroglyphs] *ḫu:-an san-s* 'unto the nobles of the king' (§ 52). We must see the dative in -*i* in *Nis-t-e* (§ 50 (3)), and either in the form [hieroglyphs] *Targu-r-e* in a new Jerabis inscription (from Targu-ras) or in the mutilated form *Targu-[r]-ni*, M xi, 3, parallel to the form [hieroglyphs] ?-*e-ni* (like *AN.LM-ni* of the cuneiform) on a new Jerabis

---

[1] This is made certain from the hieroglyphs.

[2] *GAL-GAL-aš* occurs in the opening phrase of A i, 'it is well unto the chiefs of my people'.

[3] Sayce and Jensen both recognized this.

inscription. The genitive of this latter name ends in -*c-s* (M i). Proper names apparently have also a case ending in -*u*, e.g. *Nis-t-u* (§ 49), *Pan-mi-u* (M xxi, 4), *Bar-k-u* (M i). I cannot find any case of the ablative or instrumental in -*sa*.

The masc. plural nom. -*e* is more easily determined from the hieroglyphs than the cuneiform: § 46 shows this plainly, *kat-n k-a-n-e-t(a) a-b(a)-t(a)* 'We are thy friends(?) with thee'. *san-e* 'kings' occurs in M xi, 2 (§ 52 (2)) (or is this dat. sing. ?).

The neut. plural accus. ends in -*e* (we may assume that the nominative was the same): 'So-and-so ⦙⦙↑⦙⦙ ⊕ *n-m-n-e* agreements with me graveth' (§ 47 (7): for other instances see § 68): ⦙⦙⦙⦙⦙⊗⊕ ?-*b-r-e* in the accus. after a verb (§ 37).
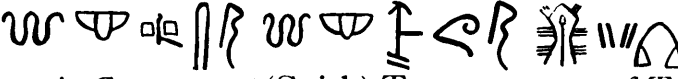
The masc. plural accus. is found in -*an* in *hu-an* 'unto the nobles' (M iii, B, I : iv, A, I : iv, B, I, § 52).
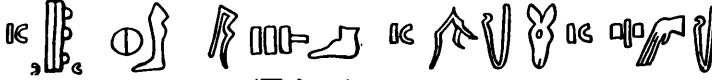
The genitive plural ends apparently in *a-c*: e.g. in a new Jerabis inscription ↑⦙⦙⦙⦙⦙⦙ ▯▯▯▯▯▯▯▯ ▯▯ ⊕ *Nis-t-h n-as*[1] *IX-a-e*[2], (So-and-so and) 'Nist the chief, the sons of the Nine' (the reading of the first and third characters is a little doubtful): similarly M lii, 4. This is comparable with the -*a-i* of the cuneiform.

On certain Nouns.

§ 65. *The word for 'son' partly described in § 50.* The nominative appears to be *nis*, for we find

(1) ⦙⦙⦙ ⦙⦙▯▯ ⦙⦙▯▯ : 'ally' :-*n(a)-a nis-n(a)-a* 'our ally, our son'. M xxi, 3.

(2) Perhaps ⦙⦙ ⦙⦙ ▯▯ ⦙⦙⦙ ⦙⦙ ⦙⦙ ⦙⦙⦙ ⦙⦙ ⦙⦙⦙ *Tesup-a-n nis Tesup-mi-am nis Gar-san-s*, '(Saith) Tesup-an son of Tesup-ammi(?)[3] son of Garsanas ("make alliance with me").' M xxxi (Nachtrag).

(3) Perhaps ⦙⦙⦙ ⦙⦙ ⊕⦙ ⦙⦙ ▯▯▯⊢⦙ ⦙⦙ ⦙⦙⦙⦙ ⦙⦙ ⦙⦙⦙⦙⦙ : *ID;* (name) *nis-mu-k* :"*Nis-t-u: a-an-t* (TA 4).

(4) Perhaps M xi, 5 (*u-s*)-*Targu-nis*. (Cf. the name Ḥaiani (§ 73).) The accusative has been shown (§ 50) to be *nin.*

---

[1] Are we to regard this *n-as* as an oblique case of the plural of *nis* (§ 65) ?

[2] From a comparison of texts it would seem as though ⦙⦙⦙ ⊕ were possibly a variant for ▯▯▯▯▯▯▯▯ ▯▯ ⊕ : cf. M ix, 5 a chief's name, 'a chief of ⦙⦙⦙ ⊕ ': M lii, 5 *Gar-[a?]-li(?) ni* ⦙⦙⦙ ⊕ where the alternative in l. 4 is *IX-a-e*: cf. xxi, 4: xxiii A, 2.

[3] Are we to read thus instead of *mi-am* on account of the 'tang' which calls attention to *mi*?

I believe the dative occurs as *ni* in the following :

(5) : *Gar-a-li ni IX-a-e*: 'Garali, son of the Nine'

(M lii, 4, also 5 (?)). In § 50 (6) *ni-ni* is probably written for *nin*.

§ 66. The syntax of the genitive relationship of this word is difficult if the nominative *nis* be admitted instead of *ninis*: however, the cases given in § 50 provide certain rules.

(1) *ⁿArammi nin(n)-s : ⁿ-?-nili(n)nis*

(5) *ⁿArammi nin(n)-nis ⁿ-?-li-s*

(2) *Bauli (n)nin-as : Mutal-a-ḥ-nis*

(TA 1) *Ḥu-ni-zi nin(n)-s : Mutal-a-ḥ-s*

(6) *ⁿErskar nin(n)-s* : 'ally' : 'ancestors' ...

(M xv, B, 1) [Sangaras] . . . *ni-n-s : San-gar-s*

(With (6) above compare the *ni-ni* of § 50 (6), and *ⁿB(a)-a-mi(?) nin* : 'ally', 'ancestors', M lii, 4.)

Postpositive, § 50 (3) *Niste ⁿBauli-nin*

(4) *Nist Bauli-nin-as*

(M xv, B, 1) *San(n)-(g)gar-s Bai(?)-ḥu-nin(n)*

(M xxxiv, A, 2) *Araranins* (cf. Professor Sayce's views, p. 129).

Compound, § 50 (4) 'brother '-*k-ni nin-as . . . li-s* : 'ally' : 'ancestors'.

(5) 'ally'-*k-ni nin-as : Mutal-a-ḥ-nis* : 'ally' : *-n(a)-a-s ⁿB(a)-a-mi nin* . . *li-Tesup* : 'ally' : *-n(a)-a nis-n(a)-a*.

The possibility of *nis* being a linear or conventional form of , and the probability of the latter being a picture of a phallus and used for 'son' (discussed in § 73), must also be considered.

Under these circumstances we can either consider *nis* and *nins* (*ninnis*, &c.) to be different words, or, as far more probable, *nis* to be the same as *nins*, on the analogy of *k-s* written for *k-n-s* in M lii, 1 : xxxiii, 1, &c.[1] The dative *ni*, if the character has been read rightly, indicates that the root letters are not *nin* : moreover, *n-as* occurs twice in the place of this *ni* before *IX-a-e*, indicating probably a plural, but at any rate some form of this *nis*. If *nis* = *nins* we can easily see the accus. in *nin* and the dat. in *ni*. From the comparison of texts above, *nin(n)-s*, *nin(n)-nis*, (*n*)*nin-as*, *ni-n-s* appear to be the same. We apparently get *nis-c* as a plural in M ix, 4.

---

[1] Other possible instances of *n* assimilated before a sibilant are : cuneiform *i-ia-zi* (Y *r.* 39) by the side of *i-ia-an-zi* (Y 7, P 4), *pa-iz-zi* (for *pa-in-zi*?) (S 1, 12 : F 1, 3, &c.), *te-iz-zi* (for *te-in-zi*?) (Y 17, 23, 34, *r.* 10).

§ 67. *The noun* 〔glyph〕. I cannot find a value for either of the two first characters; the 'leg', however, forms the name of a king in M xvi, A: xix, 1, and TA 4. But the word appears to mean 'pledges' or 'oaths', e.g. Restan 2, 'Saith...?, Before the altar (?) (which) I have made, "god "-*r-e ar-k-mi* 〔glyph〕*t(a)* by the god(s) I swore (?) thy pledges'. (For the difficulty of connecting *ar-k-mi* with ὅρκος 'an oath' see § 88); a plural subject in a new Jerabis inscription ᴼᴿ 〔glyph〕 ᴼᴿ 〔glyph〕 : *n*ᵘ-*u* 'ally'[1] : ?-?-*a-e* 'for the alliance pledges, &c.': M xi, 2 'the kings with Panammi (and) Bar-ḥi (§ 73) 〔glyph〕 *ID-zi* ?-?-*e* "utter (swear) the pledges" of [Shalmaneser (?)] king of Assyria' (§§ 28,51); a new Jerabis text, So-and-so 〔glyph〕 'pledges to . . . (a chief) have given': a new Jerabis text, 'pledges of (So-and-so and So-and-so) *s-u-n* (= I (?) have written)'.

§ 68. *The noun n-m-n.* The word 〔glyph〕 *n-m-n* appears to mean 'covenant', 'agreement': it can be (1) 'written'?, (2) 'engraved', (3) 'given': (4) the words *rsmi, rsmu,* for which I have suggested the meaning 'join' in the other passages, can be applied to it. It is not found in the nominative :—

(1) 〔glyph〕 〔glyph〕 *n-m-n s-u-n* (M xv, B, 4) ('I (?) have written a covenant').

(2) . . . "*Pan-am-mi n-m-n s-u-n* (*ibid.* 3).

---

[1] This is the 'hand' sign upright, without distinction of the fingers (as in § 34), the four fingers being merely indicated like a glove and not spread apart. It will be observed that these two forms rarely occur on the same inscription (cf. M. ix, 2, 3), and a comparison of texts will show that they are the same character with the same meaning 'friend'; also on M ii, the similarity of the horizontal hand ('ally') with this upright hand will be at once remarked. The form which can almost be called transitional is to be seen in M xi, 2, 'ally' 〔glyph〕-*zi a-an-zi* 'they have counted as an ally' (or, 'in alliance').

In M ix, 3 we meet this hand three times: 'I will make sonship (§ 73) with thee "ally "-*r-s u-b(a)-r-a-t(a) nis-zi mi-t: mi:* "ally "-*u-ni ir-r-a-t(a)* "ally "-*zi-t(a)* : ?-*e-s-k mi-ni* . . ., ? will take thee as a son (in sonship) with me, our allies (alliance) will join thee, in thy alliance .. *esk* we (?) accept (?).' In M ii, 3, 4, what I at first thought was a personal name, reading it as 〔glyph〕 ⊕, must be explained as 'ally'-*e-ni* 'our allies', with an accus. 'ally'-*ni-n* in l 6. Clearly in l. 4 we have a plural verb after it, and 'ally'-*e-ni* here is certainly not preceded by a nominative, but rather an accusative from the preceding sentence, whatever its meaning may be: and I should translate this phrase 'our allies have graven the [leg ?] of the memorial stela'. Similarly we must read 'our allies' in l. 3.

(3) [hieroglyphs] ... *n-m-n-t-an : mi-ni a* ... (*ibid.* A, 3) 'thy covenant we accept (?)'.

(4) 'A bowl unto Tesup

[hieroglyphs]

n-m-n-an a-ṭ(a)-ir : a-n kat-mi : s-un (?) *: a-b(a) Bar-k-u* (as) our agreement he hath given which I wrote (?) with Bark' (M 1). (For *un* see § 71, *note*).

(5) § 47 (10), M iii, B, 3 *kat-mi n-m-n-an* 'engrave' *e-a Tesup-id* (?)-*r-a-ḥ-m-* 'place' 'I am engraving a covenant with Benhadad the great['s city?]'.

(6) (TA 5) [hieroglyphs]

[hieroglyphs] ... : *n-m-n-an r-s-mi e-a B(a)-t :* 'ally' : *ar-mi : hu : -mi-zi : n-m-n-an a-b(a)-ṭ(a)* ... 'our covenant I have joined (?), with Bat alliance I have joined; for my chiefs our covenant with thee:... Cf. also M vii, 2 : M liii. On the meanings 'join' see notes to translation of M xxi at end.

(7) ... [hieroglyphs] .. *n-zi : n-m-n-a-n a-b(a)-ṭ(a)* 'for them, our covenant with thee (at my feast I have joined *t-s :* 'bowl' *;-nin-n-s*' (TA 7).

Plural (8) (M xi, 3) Certain chiefs [hieroglyphs] *n-m-n-e : a-ṭ(a)* 'have given covenants'.

(9) (M xxiii, A, 2) A chief (?) [hieroglyphs] *n-m-ni-e : a-ṭ(a)-ir* 'has given covenants'.

(10) (§ 47 (7)) So-and-so *n-m-n-e mi-e-a* 'covenants with me hath engraved'. Cf. also M vi, 2: xi, 2. See § 88 for a suggested Indog. comparison.

N-m-n occurs also with a word *mini* (xi, 5 : (3) above: cf. M 1), probably 'we have accepted' (§ 75).

---

[1] [hieroglyph] (which is the linear form of [hieroglyph], as was pointed out by Sayce, *PSB.A.*, xxi, 1899, 205) = *an* is proved (1) from M iii, 2, *ḥ-AN-n-s* and iv, A, 2 *ḥ-AN-nas*, varying with iv, B, 2, *ḥ-nas*: (2) M ii, 4 *m-n-u-k-n-.-lN a-ṭ(a)-t* 'for our memorial (?) he hath given', and *ibid.* 6 *mi-r-a-.-lN : t-e* 'before us he saith': (3) the common *n-m-n-AN* 'our covenant' compared with *n-m-n-a-n* once (TA 7): (4) *n-m-n-t-an* 'thy covenant' (M xv, A, 3). The oath in a new Jerabis inscription with a singular subject takes the form *mi-t-m* 'god'-*ḥ-m* '(As) my great god is with me', with a plural subject becomes 'as for me and So-and-so *Tesup-s mi-t-*[hieroglyph] (if my reading is right, which seems in every way probable), i.e. *mi-t-an* '(as) Tesup is with us'.

Verbs.

§ 69. *The Imperfect.* The simple verb is found in such ideograms as ⟨img⟩ 'saith' (Restan 2 : M lii, 3), ⟨img⟩ 'engraveth' (M iii, B, 3), &c., where the subject may follow or precede. Similarly we can see this historic present in the syllabic ⟨img⟩ *t-e* 'saith'; and since the group ⟨img⟩ (§ 46) is found in similar passages, except that the subject is plural, we can see in this *-r-a* the mark of the 3rd pers. plur. of this present or imperfect.

The first person of the unaugmented tenses ends with *-m, -mi, -mu,* similar to the 1st pers. nominal suffix, and the meaning is that of a present (historic or otherwise) and future, much the same as the Hebrew imperfect. For instance,

M v, 1 ⟨img⟩ *te* (?)-*san-mi ID-k-mi*[1] 'I promise I will fight': TA 3 (§ 47 (9)) *s-r-a ID : l-k-n-m : k-mu e-a-t*(*a*) 'They have written, "Against my (? read *n*, our ?) common foe I will go with thee "': M ix, 3 ⟨img⟩ *nis-k-m-t*(*a*) 'I will make sonship with thee'.

Moreover, the idea of this present or imperfect tense being that the duration of the action still continues, we find (M lii, 3) ⟨img⟩

san-r-a 'ally' *ID-I* (?)-*k-n* 'They have made alliance against a (common ?) foe.' Hence I propose to call this unaugmented tense the imperfect.

[The terminations *-m, -mi, -mu* are represented in the Hittite cuneiform in *e-eš-mi* (Y *r.* 3), *pa-i-mi* (Y 43), *ha-a-mi* ? (A, ii, 4).]

The second person of the imperfect may perhaps be seen in *san*(*n*)-*s-t*(*a*) which occurs twice; the more probable is *kat-t*(*a*) *k-a-ni a-b*(*a*)-*n san*(*n*)-*s-t*(*a*) (§ 46), 'Thou makest friends (?) with us (or, actest as our friend (?) with us)'; on a new Jerabis inscription we find ⟨img⟩ 'brother'-*k-e* (or 'brother' *-e-k*) : *san*(*n*)-*s-t*(*a*) (or *san-t*(*a*)-*n-s* 'like a brother (or brothers) thou actest (or makest us)'. The difficulty lies in the various possibilities which our present ignorance will not allow of our determining.[2] [It may be that this termination is to be seen in cuneiform, *me-mi-iš-ta* A, ii, 2, 5, *ki-iš-ta-aš* (Y *r.* 17*bis*)]. I do not

---

[1] Cf. *ar-mi*, translation to M xxi at end, *note.*

[2] That this form *san*(*n*)-*s-t*(*a*) might have an intransitive force is possible, *san* having all the active meaning of 'to make', 'to do'. We are too much hampered by lack of examples at present to say that this *-s-* in *san*(*n*)-*s-t*(*a*) forms a middle voice, or that the form *-s-t*(*a*) for the 2nd person singular termination is comparable to *vid-isti* in Latin (an *s* Aorist).

think that *r-s-t* in M ix, 5 is a second person: it is more probably third person, but whether the final *-t* is a suffix or part of the verbal termination is difficult to say. For we have seen that one form of the 3rd pers. sing. of the imperfect is a simple verbal form without terminations: and it is quite doubtful whether in TA 5 *san(n)-t* or *san(n) e-a-t(a)* is meant, or if in a new Jerabis inscription ' who So-and-so (acc. (?)) *r-n-t* ' where the verb is similarly doubtful (§ 83 (2)). Hence *r-s-t* is the example on which this *-t* termination depends. It is true that the forms *te-it* (Y 4, 16, 21: A, ii, 1 (?)): *pa-(a)-it* (Y 16, *r.* 10: S i, 10, &c.), *bi-i-e-it* (Y 21, 25: S i, *r.* 1 (?), 6) are common, but I cannot help thinking that these are quite as probably perfects, the augment, so clearly written in the hieroglyphs, perhaps being slurred and hardly audible to the people who wrote cuneiform. It is, of course, not infrequently added (see § 70) but the forms in *-it* without it are common, just as we find *-ir* a termination of the augmented verb in the hieroglyphs, which in cuneiform is found in such forms as *pa-a-ir*[1] (Y 22) as well as *a-ki-ir* (Y 33, 35). I must therefore leave this form *r-s-t* doubtful. The 1st pers. plur. ends like the nominal suffixes with *-n(a)*, e. g. *mi-n(a) ID-san-n(a)*

(Restan 2) 'we have accepted (?), we have signed (?)', and probably [symbol]

-k-n(a) 'we will fight' (M lii, 4).[2] The 2nd pers. plur. possibly occurs in

[symbols] *r-r-u-t* in a new Jerabis inscription; this may be a form similar to *ir-r-a-u-t* M xv, B, 3 (see translation to M xxi, *notes*, at end). *Ti-in-nu-ut* (Y 20) and *ti-nu-ut* (Y 8) occur in cuneiform alongside *ti-in-nu-zi* (Y 13, 15), and *ti-nu-zi* (Y 27), but what part of speech these are is doubtful.

The 3rd pers. plur. is found in *-nzi* as well as the *-r-a* quoted at the beginning of this section. In M ii, 2 we find *san-n-zi t(a)-k-n ?-zi : g(k)ar san-n-zi*: 'ally': *-h-n-zi* 'they have made ...(?),[3] they have made a commemoration (?), they have made alliance'; and yet in the same inscription *t-e-r-a* 'they say' occurs in the historic present. In § 37 *mi-n-zi* 'brother'-*h-n-zi* 'they have accepted (?), they have made brotherhood' appears to be the sense. [It occurs in the unaugmented tense in cuneiform in *šu-un-na-an-zi* (D 14), *šu-un-ni-wa-an-zi* (K 4), *šu-un-ni-an-zi* (K 5), &c. See § 37.]

---

[1] I have not enough examples in the hieroglyphs to say definitely whether this *-r* sound was used in the singular in unaugmented tenses. Yet the cases *te(?)-r-r* M viii, 2: *te(?)-r-nis* (M xxxi): *te(?)-r* (*ibid.*): the possibility of a badly written *b = ir* in M iv, A, B, 2: M vi, 2: M xxxii, 1: and of the word *r-k-r* (M ii, 6: xi, 5) must not be lost sight of.

[2] A possible form with a suffix is *r-nin-n-t(a)*, TA 5, &c.

[3] Are we to see in this *san-n-zi t(a)-k-n ?zi* (or *san-n-zi-t(a) ?-k-n-zi*) either 'they have made (it) for thee ...' (or they have made it, they have ...), or, still more probably, comparing it with TA 4, 'they have made [a feast? (*takna*) ?'

Another form of the verb appears to be in *-i*(?) for any person of the singular, and *-u* for the plural, and the verbs in these cases appear to be placed almost always (if not always) after their subject. Now the verb in Ivriz B (M xxxiv) is apparently to be read *te*(?)*-hi* (§ 73); in this case it follows *mi-a* 'I am' ('I am . . . Araras greeting my son'), and in this case, although the sense demands the first person singular, the verb has no distinctive mark, but remains the same as the third person impf. of § 73. It is possible that this postpositive form in *-i*, *-u* represents a participle. A similar case occurs in the plural in M xvi, A, 'We are (four kings) greeting (*or* sending a message to) (*te*(?)*-hi-u*, probably) the lord of Tabal', where although the sense is of the 1st pers. plur. the verb termination is *-u* (as I read it). A parallel to the plural is to be found in M ix,

2 . . . (three kings, nominative) 'ally';*-k : ID-u* (⟨image⟩) '(are) accepting as an ally', and most probably M x, 5 (the order being due to the desire for symmetry) ⟨image⟩*-u IX* (read *IX ID-u*) 'the Nine (are) making brotherhood': and perhaps *s-u* (M lii, 3). [An example of *-u* in Hittite cuneiform occurs in *pa-a-u*, Y r. 12.]

The participle used as a noun may perhaps be seen in M x, 2 *a-b*(*a*) *san*(*n*) *ID-k* '(Make brotherhood) with one making war'.

From ⟨image⟩ : 'ally';*-h* 'make thou alliance', the imperative would seem to have the same form as the simple root. Hence we are probably not wrong in seeing an imperative in M x, 1 ⟨image⟩ *ID-san* 'make thou brotherhood'; *ib.* 8, ⟨image⟩ *a-b*(*a*) *ID : ID-k san*(*n*) 'with a foe make war' (or 1st pl.?). Hence I see in *ar-nis* 'join us' (see translation of M xxi at end).

§ 70. On the other hand a distinct past tense is marked by the augment ⟨image⟩ *a*. The most frequent form is that ending in *-t* [found probably in cuneiform *a-a-an-ta* (Y 24), and *i-ga-it* (A i, 27), which seem to come from the roots ⟨image⟩ *an* and ⟨image⟩ *g*(*k*)]. Taking *t*(*a*), which is the best-known root, we find [1] (new Jerabis) ⟨image⟩ [. . .] *a-t*(*a*)*-t* 'bowl'; 'god'*-Tesup* . . . 'he hath given a bowl to (?) Tesup (?)' (or does *a-t*(*a*)*-t* belong to a preceding word ?).

---

[1] In M ii, 1 ff. we might see in ⟨image⟩ *a-t*(*a*)*-t* the 3rd pers. plural with the 2nd pers. suffix *t*(*a*). 'Saith *T*(*a*)*-?-ar-s* unto his son (?) Mutallu "Thy father (and) Benhadad the great have given thee (*a-t*(*a*)*-t*(*a*)) a memorial-stela (?) for the glory (?) (commemoration (?)) of Tesup"'.

Similarly ⌂ *g*(*k*) 'a foot', and so 'to come, to go' (according to the way in which the toes are pointing) is found in ▢▢▢⌂▯ *a-g*(*k*)-*t*, e.g. (M ix, 5)

K ▯ ℂ IK ▯▯▢▢◯ ▢▢⌂▯ ▢◉▯ ▯⌂▯ : (name)-*h:h I.X-a-e a-g*(*k*)-*t r-s-t?-k-ni* 'So-and-so the Chief,the chief of the Nine(?),' hath come : he will join(?) our war'. *A-g*(*k*)-*t Gu-am-(zi)* 'Giammu hath come' or 'he hath come to Giammu' occurs on the Kellekli stone (Hogarth, *Annals of Arch. and Anthrop.,* ii). ▢▯◉▯ *a-s-t* is another, from the root *s*, which appears to mean 'to write'. It occurs twice in a new Jerabis text; 'So-and-so IK ▯ ▢▯◉▯ : *ID-n*(*a*) *a-s-t* . . . hath written'. Other words are ▢▯▯▯ *a-an-t* (M ix, 4 *ter*), and perhaps ▢▯▯ ▯ (TA 8). I have not been able to discover the 2nd pers. sing. or plur., but I think the 1st pers. sing. is fairly certain. Three times a word *a-h-mi* occurs (M ii, 5, § 81), 'Before them a shrine (?) *a-h-mi* I made': Restan 2, *mi-[r?]-a ID a-h-mi* 'before (?) the altar (?) (which) I made': M lii, 5 : 'ally': *a-h-mi* 'I made alliance'. It seems to occur in the form *a-h-m*, M xxxii, 5.

The 1st pers. plur. with the 2nd sing. suffix is concealed in ▢▯▢▢▢▢ ▯▯ *a-san-n-t*(*a*) in the quotation in § 46. Had it not been for the phrase in M ix, 2 *a-b*(*a*)-*t*(*a*) *san-m-t*(*a*) 'with thee I will act (towards) thee', I should have suggested that my copy was in error in ▯ *t*. Apparently we may see the 1st plur. in ▯▢▢▯▯ *a-t*(*a*)-*an*, M xxxiv, A, 2.

The 3rd plur. ends like the impf. forms in *-nzi* [in cuneiform *a-ta-an-zi* G 16, *a-ba-wa-an-zi*, G 20, &c.], e.g. ▢▯▢▢▢▢ ▯ ▯ *a-san-n-zi* (new Jerabis) and ▢▢▯▯▯ *a-an-zi* (M x, 6).

§ 71. There are, however, other verbal forms in this augmented tense. For instance, the common *a-san*(*n*) used as auxiliary : ▢▯▢ ▢▯ *a-t*(*a*) used as a 3rd pers. plur. in (certainly) two cases, one a new Jerabis inscription and the other M xi, 3 '(several chiefs) *n-m-n-e : a-t*(*a*) ; have given covenants'. (For a case with a suffix see *footnote* to § 70.) Another form for the 3rd pers. plur. appears to end in *-u* ; ▢▯▢▢▢▢ ▯ *a-san-u* ('they have acted (as) friends', M lii, 5), probably ▢▯▢⌂▯ᶜ *a-k-u* 'they have come' (M xxxi, Nachtrag), and possibly ▢▯▢ ▢▯▯ᶜ *a-t*(*a*)-*u* (M xlvi) : but there is a doubt about this.

---

¹ On this variant see § 64, *note* 2.

There are also the forms in *-ir* quoted in § 10, which appear to be the 3rd pers. sing.

We find a possible form in *-u-n*, occurring only as 〈glyph〉 *s-u-n* (assuming that the root is the verbal *s* 'write') (new Jerabis), 'pledges (?) of (So-and-so) *s-u-n*'; (new Jerabis and M xv, B, 3 and 4) *u-m-n s-u-n* 'I have written (?) a covenant'.

[Cuneiform shows it in (e.g.) *ta-aḫ-ḫu-un* (Y *r.* 4, [5]), *šu-uḫ-ḫa-aḫ-ḫu-un* (Y *r.* 6), *te-eḫ-ḫu-un* (Y *r.* 7), &c.: *pa-a-un* (W 19) shows from its parallelism with *ad-din* 'I gave' that it is 1st pers. sing.[1]]

§ 72. The *u-* forms which appear frequently in Hittite cuneiform [*up-pa-(aḫ)-ḫu-un* √*pa*, A i, 15, 28: *up-pa-aḫ-ḫi* A i, 18: *u-ta-an-zi*, √*ta*, A i, 22, &c.] occur in *u-b(a)-r-a-t(a)* (M ix, 3, see *note* to translation at end): *u-ḫa-am-mi* (M ii, 3), and probably an instance in M ix, 5.

§ 73. (*a*) We have already discussed the causative conjugation in § 37, which has shown examples of a noun ('brother', 'ally') with a *-ḫ-* verbal formation after it. One or two new points arise which are of interest. In M xxxiii, 2 we find 〈glyphs〉, and although it is difficult to be certain of the meaning of the first ideogram, I am much inclined to agree with Professor Sayce and see the idea of a 'stela' or 'tablet' in it.[2] Whether *n(a)-s* is 'this' or 'our', the last group 'ally': *-ḫ-s* appears to be a nominal form of the causative conjugation in the genitive, so that we may translate 'this tablet (?) of making alliance', or even a participle used as an adjective in the nominative.

In this form of the causative we have now found (1) the hieroglyphic imperative 2nd sing., ending in *-ḫ* (are we to see this in the cuneiform *lilḫuwai*,[3] A i, 14 ?): (2) the hieroglyphic imperfect 3rd plur., ending in *-ḫnzi*, corresponding to the *-aḫḫanzi* of the cuneiform: (3) and possibly the hieroglyphic 1st plur. of the same in *-ḫnn(a)*. For the 1st and 3rd pers. sing. in the cuneiform the views in Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, p. 270 ff., are that *-ḫḫun* is the 1st pers. and *-ḫḫi* the 3rd pers. Now, in addition, I believe that the group 〈glyphs〉,

---

[1] This has long been accepted in the Arzawa letters. It rather suggests that 〈glyph〉 might have the value of *un* in M i 'a bowl for Tesup (as) our covenant he (?) hath given : *a-n kat-mi : s-*〈glyph〉 : *a-b(a) Bar-k-u* which I (have) written (?) with Bark': but the suggestion is without support. (See § 32, *note.*)

[2] At the same time in two of the passages in which it occurs it appears to be preceded by a numeral, once 'ten' and once a 'hundred', if Professor Sayce's very plausible explanation of 〈glyphs〉 as '440' be correct.

[3] *Ta-a-i* (Y *r.* 26, 27, &c , D 11, &c., E 7, 12, &c.) has all the appearance of an imperative

a fairly common word, contains the causative termination for the 3rd pers. sing. (besides the participle, § 69), at any rate when used as the first word in a sentence, and on this assumption the second character should have the value -*ḥi*. I submit the following to support such a theory :—

At first I thought that this character had some such value as *ḥ* from a new Jerabis inscription, where I found a form ⊕ 〈hieroglyphs〉 ' brother '-?- *ḥ-n-zi* ' they have made brotherhood ', when the usual form for this word is simply ⊕ 〈hieroglyphs〉 ' brother '-*ḥ-n-zi* (§ 37), my idea, probably erroneous, being that this apparently redundant character was a helping *ḥ*, added to support the ordinary causal ending; and by considering it as *ḥ* came to the conclusion that it could form a causative of the third person singular as in the word mentioned above. But latterly it seemed unlikely that the sign could only be a simple *ḥ*, as there were already two signs for this, and in that case, if it contained the sound *ḥ* at all it must be augmented to a full syllable by at least a vowel either in front or behind (say *i*), which at once obviously changed the (hypothetical) group ' brother '-*ḥi*(?)-*ḥ-n-zi* into a form difficult to explain on the model of the cunei-form causatives. Yet on the ground that the value *ḥi* made the group 〈hieroglyph〉-*ḥi* into a causative of the ideograph ' say ' of the form demanded by the cuneiform, it was still worth pursuing as a hypothesis. Now this group takes the place of the ordinary ' saith ' (or ' I am '), as in M x, 1, and if the second character is really a causative *ḥi*, we may well suggest ' causes to say ', i. e. ' sends a message ' or ' greet ' for the meaning : in just the same way √*te* ' say ' occurs in cuneiform (cf. Y 4, 16, 21, &c.) as well as its causative *te-eḥ-ḥu-un* (Y r. 7). M x, on which it occurs, (if my translation is right) was sent as a present, or at any rate marks a message from Shalmaneser (?) to Carchemish (this explains the Assyrian figures on the companion stelae). Next, on M xvi, A (see translation at end) we have ' we (four kings) 〈hieroglyphs〉 i. e. greet (or, send a message to) (the lord of Tabal) ' and in the rest of the inscription they suggest an alliance. In M xix, 1 the group appears to occur again, but the text is mutilated. M xxxiii gives 'Araras of Tyana the great to his lord Talḥas 〈hieroglyphs〉 *li-n-s-t*, Make alliance with us '. Here again the idea is of sending a message; while in the Ivriz text quoted at the end of § 69, ' greet ' or ' send a message ' will fit 〈hieroglyph〉 quite well (see the trans-lation at end). For M xxxv, 2 I can suggest nothing : the word also occurs in Rams. No. 4. (For the view that some of these are participles see § 69, end).

Hence there is some initial reason, at any rate, to think that our character can form -*ḥi* causatives, and, as a barely possible parallel (at least until some translation is suggested for it), the group in M lii, 5.

With this suggested value *ḥi* we can apply it to the phrase 'brother'-*ḥi-ḥ-n-zi*, where it is apparently redundant because of the parallel 'brother'-*ḥ-n-zi*. Obviously if *ḥi* is the value, it cannot be a helping sound in the causative formation, for the cuneiform forms are quite distinct on this point: but it might well be a phonetic complement to the sign for 'brother', which suggests at once the Assyrian word *aḥi*. As has been seen (§§ 2, 28, 33 *footnote*; for the full list see § 89) several Assyrian words were adopted in Hittite cuneiform many centuries before the date of this inscription, among them certainly *abu* 'a father', and a possible instance of *aḥu* 'brother' (see § 33, *footnote*); phonetic complements are by no means uncommon (§ 4), and consequently the evidence for the value *ḥi* accumulates with this explanation.

We can now examine the name of the brother of Panammi, who has already been referred to in §§ 28, 38. In § 28 we find three instances of a group , a name following closely after Panammi, and in § 38 it is shown that he is actually described in the hieroglyphs as Panammi's brother. The two first quotations in § 28 may be translated ' Panammi the king, with R his brother' and ' Panammi (and) R swear'; and with these clues it should be possible to learn the pronunciation of his name [1].

First, we can examine the character which occurs syllabically in another proper name *k-u* in M i (*kat-mi : s-un ? : a-b(a)* ID-*k* ' I have written (?) with ("tang") *ID-k* '); in M xxi, 3 where it is written -*k-u*; in M xi, 4 it is made definitely a chief's name by the sign *ḥ*, = ("tang")-ID.-*k-ḥ* = '*ID-k*, the chief'; and in M x, 2 it is one of three names of persons who are described as ' chiefs of the Nine ' (*S-s-?*, 'Sun-god '-*san*, ID-*k*). Consequently there is no doubt that we have

---

[1] In the long text from Tel Ahmar the name occurs in l. 8 spelt ordinarily (without Panammi); in l. 3 we find a group , which, although the lower half of the line is broken away beneath, gives at least at first sight some colour to the belief that this group is a variant (' head '-*ḥu*) for the name of the brother of Panammi (' head '-*ḥi*(?)). Against this, however, I must mention that M xv, B I (§ 3) contains a possibility that this name ' head '-*ḥu* is the father of Sangar, and son of another Sangar: the first character is very difficult to read, but if the line on M xv, B I runs as I have suggested in § 3, it would be difficult to reconcile this name ' head '-*ḥu* as the brother of Panammi. However this may be, it has, of course, no effect whatever against our reading the name of the brother of Panammi as ' head '-*ḥi*.

a chief's name spelt with ⟨glyph⟩ (with or without the tang marking names) and the sign *k*. We may now turn to another name which occurs in a group three times ◎ ⟨glyphs⟩ ?-?-*b*(*a*)-*r*-*k* (TA 3, 5, M lii, 1). This form does not occur in any of the texts quoted above, and hence will not clash with their groups in any way; and I propose to suggest a hypothesis for the identification of the two groups, making ⟨glyphs⟩ = *Bar-k*. If we could prove the first two characters in ?-?-*b*(*a*)-*r*-*k* to be a title, so that the name is really *B*(*a*)-*r*-*k*, we should have gone far to prove our point.

Now it is noticeable that M xxi and M lii, both from the same king to the same king, and about the same date, do not coincide in their mention, the one bearing one form, and the other the other. It is not improbable for two such inscriptions to mention the same chief's name, and hence these two may be the same name spelt differently; at the same time it must be admitted that Karal occurs in the one and not in the other, and hence we cannot base very much on such small evidence. But we can go further in the question of titles. In M xix, B, 8 we find part of our title used in ⟨glyph⟩ ID.*IX*, where ID. (if correct) replaces the more usual *h* 'chief'; are we then to consider that we have '?-title-*B*(*a*)-*r*-*k*' for our name? In relation to this we find a curious parallel in two groups, M xxxiii (Nachtrag), 6, ⟨glyphs⟩, and what is presumably the same in M lii,2 (cf. 5) ⟨glyphs⟩ (I see I have not done Messerschmidt's copies justice in drawing the sign as *hi*: a new Jerabis text spells this name in the same way as M lii, 2, without *r*, but is distinct in using No. 45 of my list, and not *hi* in this passage). Here it is clear that the circle may again be omitted, and it might indeed well be that it is merely the sign for 'brother' (◎ instead of ⟨glyph⟩, a form which I copied more than once while working at Carchemish). At any rate, whether it be 'brother' or not, it can clearly be omitted; so that whether we see in ◎ ⟨glyph⟩ a title, or merely 'brother' of the titled person, is immaterial for our purpose. ⟨glyph⟩ we have seen (if the text is copied rightly) is equivalent to 'chief' (cf. M xv, B, 1 ?), and hence, since the circle-sign may be added or omitted in the other group, it does not seem an improbable theory that '?-?-*b*(*a*)-*r*-*k*' provides us with the name *B*(*a*)-*r*-*k* with a description or title attached. With the probability of this name *B*(*a*)-*r*-*k*, should we not read the ⟨glyphs⟩ as *Bar-k* (making ⟨glyph⟩ = *bar*), which occurs in inscriptions contemporary with those containing the form 'title-*B*(*a*)-*r*-*k*'?

For another case of ⟨glyph⟩ (in one case with the tongue out) compare the name (or possibly the title of an officer) ⟨glyph⟩ ⟨glyph⟩ ⟨glyph⟩ in M vi, 1, and Restan 1 (§ 9). This occurs as ⟨glyph⟩ ⟨glyph⟩ in a new Jerabis inscription. I can offer no explanation except to mention in comparison the name Bar-ga's, a chief on the Zakir-stela, of a later period (§ 23): the hand with the dagger is used phonetically in Rams. 1–6 in the king's name ⟨glyphs⟩ "*Un*(?)-?-*tal-s*, and again phonetically with the sign *k* when it means 'to fight', but that is as far as I can go in these comparisons.

(*b*) To proceed with this head-sign. It occurs as a noun in M ii, 1, 'Saith T-?-ar-s unto his *bar*(?) Mutallu the great'. Now in the corresponding phrases (§ 34) we find the words 'brother', 'friend', 'lord' used, and hence here it looks as though *bar* had assumed an Aramaic value 'son'. This is strengthened by the next word in the line, which reads *a-b*(*a*)-*u-t*(*a*), which is surprisingly like the Semitic (be it Assyrian or Aramaic) for 'father' with 2nd pers. sing. pronoun attached; *abu* is one of the Assyrian words borrowed in Hittite cuneiform, like *pani*, and possibly *ahu* (§ 90). It does not seem unlikely that common Aramaic words may have been borrowed (*abu* 'father', *pani* 'face',[1] *ahu* 'brother' are practically the same as the Aramaic words) by the Hittites of the ninth century, seeing how close their relations with the Syrians were. The excavations of Sinjerli which have revealed sculptures of undenied Hittite workmanship, and yet inscriptions in Aramaic, are enough to show how interwoven these tribes on the border of the Hittite-speaking and Aramaic-speaking lands were. It cannot, however, be supposed that the head-sign *bar* (?) originally meant 'son' to the inventors of the hieroglyphs, but far more probably (as Sayce actually suggested for the pictograph) 'chief', and at the same time I am very loath to discover Aramaisms or other Semitisms in Hittite on slender evidence.

(*c*) If there be any value in the foregoing hypotheses, the name of Panammi's brother will then be *Bar-ḫi*, and without wishing to force a comparison, it is certainly a curious coincidence that one of the later-found Sinjerli Aramaic texts (von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, iv. 374 ff., translated by Peiser, *OLZ.*, 1911, No. 12, 540 ff.), shows the following:

> 'I am Kalammu bar-Ḥayâ: Gabbar ruled over Ia'di; and Bel-pô'êl was his son. And Bel-pô'êl adopted my father Ḥayâ, and Bel-pô'êl adopted (him) as chosen brother. And Bel-pô'êl adopted me, Kalammu, as full son' (&c.).

Ḥayâ is written חיא in l. 9, and it is commonly accepted that he is the Ḥaiani of the Shalmaneser inscriptions (see the aforementioned *Ausgrabungen* and *OLZ.*

---

[1] Cf. the inscription of Kalammu referred to in (*c*).

on this point) who is described therein as 'son of Gabbaru'. Inasmuch as the true son of Gabbar, Bel-pô'êl, adopted him as a brother, the Assyrian description could hold good.

From the Sinjerli texts and the Assyrian inscriptions we can reconstruct a fairly accurate genealogical tree of the kings of the two adjacent kingdoms of Sam'al and Ia'di:

Sam'al.   *Ia'di.*

Gabbar (A., S.)[1]
|
Haiani (A.) (Hayâ, S.) by adoption brother of Bel-Pô'êl (S.), c. 860
| (called 'Son of Gabbaru', A.) paid tri-
| bute to Shalmaneser, 854 B.C. (A.)

Karal[2] (H., S.), contemp. of Benhadad,
Kalammu bar-Hayâ (S.) (Bar-hi, ? H.) ruled | c. 860–845.
    subsequent to 854 B.C. [? in H. called 'brother' of] Panammu I[3] (H., S.), contemp. of Benha-
                                         dad, probably ruled about 845–815.
Bar-Sr (S.), son (?) of Panammu I.
|
Panammu II[4] (A., S.) died in the reign of Tiglath-
| Pileser II, after 745 (S).
Bar-Rekub (S.).   Azriyau (A.), reign of Tiglath-Pileser II.

We have therefore little difficulty in making Kalammu bar-Hayâ of Sam'al a contemporary of Panammu I of Ia'di, and, having regard to the history of preceding kings, these latter too may very well have made brotherhood, which would be a reasonable hypothesis to strengthen my translation for the Hittite phrase 'Panammi the king with his brother Bar-hi'. There is nothing to prevent Kalammu having been called Bar-Hayâ instead of by his own name: it was no uncommon thing, for the Semites at any rate, to speak of M, the son of N, as simply 'the son of N': thus 'the son of Kish' (1 Sam. x. 11), 'the son of Jesse' (1 Sam. xx. 27, 30, 31, &c.). Even in Hittite we can point to another example, for the Ivriz inscription appears to be the record of just such another case of adoption; the larger figure who says 'I am Tesup-mis' goes on to call himself *A-r-ar-a-nin-s*, i.e. 'son of Ariarathes' (apparently a distinct name, Ariarathides, occurring thus on M xxxii, 1, not merely a description), while the smaller figure

---

[1] A. = occurs in Assyrian inscriptions, H. = Hittite, S. = Sinjerli.

[2] Father of Panammu I, occurring (if this system of decipherment be correct) in a Hittite inscription (M lii) sent by Benhadad to Mutallu of Gurgum (§§ 28, 87).

[3] Occurring in Hittite on inscriptions contemporary with Sangar (M xv, B) Irhulina (M vi), Muttallu (M xxi?), Katê (M ix?), Kirrî (M xi), Aram of Kask (M xi), and Benhadad (M xxi?). As Panammu II died probably not long after 745 B.C. (see the Sinjerli inscription of Bar-Rekub), Panammu I may quite well have been on the throne as early as 845. He must have been contemporary with the last years of Benhadad, who was murdered some time between 846 842.

[4] Bar-Rekub describes his ancestors as living in the palace of Kalammu.

says 'I am .. Araras (Ariarathes) sending a message to (*or* greeting) *n^u-ni-mi*, i.e. my son '.[1]

An interesting suggestion comes from the hieroglyph of the 'hand grasping' in one of the 'Panammi' groups in §28. The phrases are ' Panammi, the king, with Barhi his brother', or even ' Panammi and Barhi' simply: but we also find the closed hand inserted between the words ' Barhi' and 'his brother'. Now this hand-sign occurs in a phrase (M ix, 2) 'Targu-ras, Shalmaneser(?), king of Nineveh, chief of lords, (and) Talas have accepted ('hand'+*n*) the . . . of our great lord . . . as an ally', and again in a new Jerabis inscription ('hand'; *a-san-n-zi* 'they have accepted') (see translation at end, M ix, *notes*): and with the view that it implies 'acceptance in alliance' we can see the same meaning in it when written with Barhi, 'his accepted (i.e. adopted) brother Bar-Ḥayâ'.

To recapitulate the evidence for the name Bar-hi = Bar-Hayâ. The sign which I have called *hi* occurs apparently as the causative termination of the verb 'to say': it also occurs as a phonetic complement to the word 'brother', which may be the borrowed Assyrian word *aḥi*. The sign which I have called *bar* is used in a proper name *Bar-k*, for which there is some reason to believe the variant *B(a)-r-k* is written in contemporaneous texts, and there is the bare possibility that this value *bar* was used in a borrowed Aramaic word 'son' (although I lay no stress on this). We find these two signs forming a personal name Bar-hi, who is described as the brother of Panammi, and a Sinjerli text gives us a king Kalammu bar-Ḥayâ, who is the adopted son of Bel-pô'êl, probably Panammi's grandfather, and in one case a sign which might reasonably be explained as meaning 'accepted' or 'adopted' is used in describing this Bar-hi. Chronology prevents us reading *Bar-k* = *G-bar* = *Gabbaru*.

To conclude this section on causatives we must mention a form (M ix, 3) *ID-ḥ-m-t(a)* ' I will make . . . thee'. Looked at as a picture the ideogram suggests a phallus; in that case 'son' is the natural rendering. But we have already (§ 66) found that the character *nis* = 'son'; are we to suppose that is the full form of , which is merely its abbreviation (as was suggested in § 66), like for the animals' heads? This seems a possibility, for it is not uncommon to find both the full form and the abbreviated form in the same inscription (M xxi, M lii, the sign *b(a)*). The text of M ix, 2 (end) can then read 'With thee will I act: I will make sonship with thee': and this is

---

[1] The Hittite inscription from Kirtschoglu (M vii), not very far from Kalammu's kingdom, seems to contain the name Bar-hi badly written in the first line. (See translations at end.)

followed by *?-r-s u-b(a)-r-a-t(a)* 'son'*-si mi-t:-mi* '. . .? will take (?) thee for a son with me'.

The character ⟨glyph⟩ occurs M xi, 3, 4 (where it may mean 'son'), and in M x, 6, where it is used after *a-an-zi*. In M ix, 4 this phrase is found thus with ⟨glyph⟩:

Kat-t-e : nis-e a-an-t-nin B(a)-t nis-e a-an-t-nin 'Katê hath counted us (?) as sons(?), Bat hath counted us (?) as sons (?)'.

§ 74. *The auxiliary verb.* As has been already noted (§ 9, *note*) the verb ⟨glyph⟩ can be used either simply or with an auxiliary ⟨glyph⟩ *san* or ⟨glyph⟩ *a-san(n)*, which thus suggests its meaning 'make, do, act', and it will be found that these meanings suit the context where *san* is used as a verb by itself: 'like (a) brother(s) thou actest (or makest us)' (§ 76), 'thou actest (as) a friend(?) (or makest friends) with us' (§ 46), and others. In compounds, other than that quoted at the beginning of this section, we find it with ⟨glyph⟩, an ideograph evidently meaning 'to accept' (cf. M ix, 2), as in a new Jerabis inscr. ⟨glyph⟩ *ID;-a-san-n-zi* 'they have accepted': with ⟨glyph⟩ (Restan 2) 'to sign'; and in the phrase ⟨glyph⟩ : *g(k)ar-san-n-zi* (M ii, 2) before the words 'they have made alliance', parallel to the case of *mi-n-zi* before the words 'they have made brotherhood' (new Jerabis inscription). *Mi-n-zi* we may perhaps translate 'they have accepted' (see below), and perhaps (if a comparison with an Indog. root be not out of place) we may see in *g(k)ar* the Indog. *kar-* 'to mention, praise', *g(k)ar-san-n-zi* being then 'they have made a commemoration'.[1] Similarly in M x, 5 *kat-t(a)* [*a*]-*b(a)* . . .? *g(k)ar-san-m*, but what its meaning is is not certain. An additional example for the meaning 'make' appears in the phrase 'let us make (*san*) war' (M x, 8).

§ 75. Since *minzi* has been referred to it may be discussed here. We find the root in *min(a)*, *mini*, *minzi*, e.g. (new Jerabis inscription after a plur. subject)

---

[1] It is a fitting place here to discuss the meaning of ⟨glyph⟩ *gar(kar)* (§ 3 ff.); besides occurring in *Sangar, Gargamis, Garali, Garsans* (?), &c., and with *san*, as above, we find it in (1) M ii, 2 'Thy father(?) (and) Benhadad, the great, have given thee a memorial-stela for the *kar* of Tesup'; (2) M ix, 5 'A great tablet(?) of our *kar ir-r-a k* . . . (i.e. they have joined)'. Now this can either be referred to the *kar* 'commemoration' mentioned above, or we can consider it as equivalent to the Assyrian *karu*, supposed to be the Kar or Gar in Gargamis, 'a fortress', 'wall'. I incline to the former, 'the commemoration (praise) of Tesup' being indicated by his figure beside the inscription, 'the great tablet(?) of our commemoration' being the actual inscription on which the covenant was written. (On the meaning of the sign 'tablet' see § 73, *a*.)

mi-n-zi 'brother'-*ḥ-n-zi* 'they have *mi*, they have made brotherhood': (Restan 2,

after a suggestion for alliance) *mi-n*(*a*) ⤳-*san-n*(*a*) 'We have *mi*, we have signed'; and in the form *mini* (although whether it is a participle (§ 69) or a form of the 1st pers. plur. impf. is uncertain) in (M xi, 5) *n-m-n K-r-a-ḥ : mi-ni* 'the covenant of Kirrî, the chief *mini*': (M 1) *s-e : n-m-n-c NN : mi-ni* 'the writing of the covenants of NN *mini*': (M xv, A, 3) *n-m-n-t-an : mi-ni* 'thy covenant *mini*'. Possibly the perfect is found in M lii, 2 *a-mi*.

Now in the above cases everything points to *mi* meaning 'to accept': it is a stronger meaning than 'to consider', 'to see' (as I first thought, comparing the Indog. *men*, by supposing the *n* to be hidden in the termination), for the whole point of these inscriptions seems to me to be the indication of a definite intention to become an ally, and not merely the consideration of such a course. Hence 'accept' seems to be the best translation, at any rate provisionally.

The Prepositions, &c.
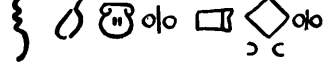
§ 76. *The particle* ᴋ(ᴋɪ).

In the Hittite cuneiform we find an enclitic *ki* occurring thus: (the last paragraph of A ii) *AB . ZUN*[*k*]*u-e n-ta-an-zi nu ne-e*[*š-r*]*a-ni b*[*u*]-*ka ḥa-at-ri-eš-ki*: (Y 19) *n-ul ku-it-ki* (*ku-it* occurring separately Y *r.* 8). This occurs in the hieroglyphs: (§ 69) ⊙ ☙ ᴵᶜ ▦ ⸢⸣, 'brother'-*k-e : san*(*n*)-*s-t*(*a*) 'like (a) brother(s) thou actest' (or *san-t*(*a*)-*n-s* 'thou makest us'?) (or possibly the -*e* marks the case-ending of 'brother'): perhaps M ix, 1 'god'-*ḥ k* 'like a great god' (see translation of M ix at end, *note* to l. 1): *ibid.* l. 2, 'ally' ;-*k* 'like a friend'. Cf. M lii, 4, where *k* occurs obviously between two words (probably a noun) of which it is not a part.

§ 77. The prepositions are: ⸢⸣ *a-b*(*a*) 'with', cun. *a-ba*, § 40: ⸢⸣ *mi-t* 'with', cun. *ma-at*(?), § 81: ⊕ ⸢⸣ *e-a* 'with', cun. *i-a*, § 47: ⸢⸣ *t*(*a*)-*a* 'to', cun. enclitic *ta*, § 80: ⸢⸣ *mi-r-a* 'before', § 81: ⸢⸣ *n-u* (see trans. to M xv, B, l. 2), the equivalent of the cuneiform *nu*, § 7.

Enclitic:—⸢⸣ *k-n* 'for', 'to', cun. *kan*, § 7: ⸢⸣ *n-t*(*a*) 'to', cun. -*an-ta*, § 79: ⸢⸣-*zi* 'in', 'for', cun. *zi, za*, § 37, *note*.

§ 78. Enclitic ⸢⸣ *t*(*a*) occurs as distinct from ⸢⸣ *n-t*(*a*), and as these are

paralleled in the cuneiform it is fairly easy to see the difference between them. The former occurs in hieroglyphs thus:

(1) (New Jerabis) 〔hieroglyphs〕 *IX e-a-mi-t̯(a)* (the word which follows is distinct and well known) 'the Nine with me -*t̯a*'.

(2) TA 7 〔hieroglyphs〕, &c. . . . *san(n)-t̯(a)-t̯(a) : ID*

(On M 1, 〔hieroglyphs〕 &c. *Te*(?) *Ir-r-a t̯(a) gu;a*, Irra being marked as a proper name with a tang in M xxiii, A, 2, see translation at end.)

A remarkable instance occurs in cuneiform (G 15) *II ub-na ŠE . GAN it-ti-in-nu-t̯a im-mi-ia-an-zi.* Now there is no question that *i-id-din-wa* (Y 21) and *ad-din* (W 19, *bis*) have all the appearance of the Assyrian word for 'he, I gave'; similarly *it-ti-in-nu* might well be 'they gave'; and inasmuch as *immianzi* is also a verb in the 3rd pers. plur. it seems likely that -*t̯a* is 'and' (if Indog. comparisons are permissible I would suggest *dê*, the Greek δέ). Another example occurs in P 9, . . . *a-bi-e-t̯a ub-be GISAL*, where *abî* might be the Assyrian word for 'father', and *t̯a* has been attached to it. Y *r.* 18 offers a possible example of a verb + *t̯a*, i.e. *t̯aḫ-ḫu-t̯a*(?), *t̯aḫḫu* being part of the well-known causative conj. of *t̯a* 'to give'.

Now we have two examples in the hieroglyphs where the -*t̯(a)* occurs; in (1) after a pronoun, and in (2) after a verb, which may fittingly be compared to the *t̯a* 'and' of the cuneiform.

It is, however, no uncommon thing to find 'and' left out in the hieroglyphs in a composite subject: M ii, 1 ('thy father (?) (and) Benhadad'): TA 4 (two personal names unconnected): M ix, 2 ('Targu-r(a)s, Shalmaneser (?), king of Nineveh, lord of chiefs, Tal(a)s'): M xi, 2 (' Panammi (and) Barḫi have sworn '): M xvi (four kings unconnected).

§ 79. The -*t̯a* 'and' is probably distinct from -*an-t̯a* in cuneiform, which appears to be an enclitic preposition, notably in the greeting A i, 5, where it is added to -*kan*, i.e. *KUR . KUR . ZUN-mi-kan-an-t̯a ḫûman DMK-in*, while in the corresponding phrase in l. 10 we have simply *KUR . ZUN-ti ḫûman DMK-in e-eš-tu.* Cf. G 6 *i-na bît AMEL . ZU-an-t̯a bi-e-ḫu-t̯a-an-zi*: Y 39 *GAL-ri-ia-an-t̯a*: *EGIR-an-t̯a* A i, 18: *ki-na-an-t̯a* (Y *r.* 33) varying (?) with *ki-na-a-an-t̯a* (Y *r.* 23): *a-ra-aḫ-za-an-t̯a* A ii, 19: *LUGAL-an-t̯a* Liv. i, 8, &c. The one case in the hieroglyphs of which I know appears to mean 'to':—

(New Jerabis inscription) 〔hieroglyphs〕: "*Mut*(?)-*tal-li-n-t̯(a) kat-u s-r-a* ' Unto Muttallu (?) they have written '.

§ 80. *The preposition* TA.

In the Hittite cuneiform there is a postpositive preposition *-ta*, e.g. B 11 *LUGAL-i-ta* : cf. *u-nu-wa-an-ta* Y *r*. 34 compared with *u-nu-te-eš, ib*. 27 : DMK-*an-ta* A i, 16, unless these belong to the preceding section. This is found in the hieroglyphs, sometimes before, sometimes after its noun.

t(*a*)-*a kat-n-s* : (new Jerabis).

t(*a*)-*a n-e* 'unto us'? (new Jerabis).

: *t*(*a*)-*a:mi* 'unto me' (M viii, A, 2).

: *t*(*a*)-*a-n* : 'to them' (M xxxii, 1).

t(*a*)-*a* : *n-m-n s-n-n* : (or should this *t*(*a*)-*a* govern a preceding noun?) (new Jerabis).

It is postpositive in the Hamath inscriptions (M [iii, B], iv, A, iv, B) 'Saith Irhulina unto the nobles of the king, Make alliance with us *Am-t*(*a*)-*a-ḫ-*"place"-*-t*(*a*)-*a*'; and Restan and Hamath, M vi, 'Saith 🔶 ⇥-*s* unto Irhulina, Make alliance with us *Am-t*(*a*)-*a-ḫ-*"place"-*-t*(*a*)-*a*'. Now as this stands, according to our meanings of the words, it can only read '*ta* the lord of Hamath, the Great', and its actual sense is not easy to see, unless it be 'for (on behalf of)'. At the same time 'against' appears to be the meaning in the two following quotations:—M lii, 2 'NN, the sons of the Nine'

&c., *t*(*a*)-*a ID:N-ka A-nin-n*(*a*)-'place' : *nis-n* : 'ally' *ar-e*[*-kat*(?)] 'against a foe of Nka of Adinnu (?) their son, alliance have joined (?)' (one reading ; see translation at end). Cf. also l. 4.

(New Jerabis) : *K;-a-mi t*(*a*)-*a ID T*(*a*)-*bal-*'place' 'I will march against a foe of Tabal'.

(Other cases of *t*(*a*)-*a* occur M vi, 2 : xxiv, B, 2 : xxxiii, 2.)

§ 81. The preposition 𝚹 *mi-r-a* seems to mean 'before', 'in the presence of' (the cuneiform *mi-ra-a* in W 19 is apparently a place-name). We find almost every personal suffix attached to it : *mirami, mirat*(*a*) (?), *miran, miraut, mirau*.

(1) :*kat-s mi-r-a-mi* 'he in my presence' (M viii, A, 4).

(2) [hieroglyphs] *mi-r-a-t(a) m-t-mi: u-ḫ-am-mi*: (M ii, 3) 'before thee with me he hath . . . me'.   (See, however, translation at end.)

(3) [hieroglyphs] *mi-r-a-an : t-e* 'in our presence he hath said' (*ib.* 6).

(4) [hieroglyphs] *mi-r-a-u-t*: 'before you', apparently in M xxxii, 5.

(5) [hieroglyphs] *mi-r-a-u : ID; a-ḫ-mi* 'in their presence the shrine (?) I enlarged (built) (?)' (M ii, 5).

It is used obviously with this meaning in M xi, 4, 'Sweareth Aram, the chief of Kask, *mi-r-a* 'god'-*ḫ* before the (or his) great god'.   Cf. also, for another instance, M vi, 2.

Mira 'before' is therefore fairly certain.   We can proceed next to another proposition *m-t*, which is not improbably the same as the *ma-at* of W 19 (*nu* mât ali êlî-ti *niš-ta-bar-ḫa ti-ra-an ma-at-mu* ᵐ ᶦˡᵘ*Sin-*ᶦˡᵘ*Tesup-aš*, &c.).   One instance of *m-t-mi* 'with me' has already been given (see this section (2)): it occurs again M ii, 4 (*m-t-mi m-n-u-k-n-an a-t(a)-t* 'with me for our stela (?) he hath given').

An instance of the 3rd pers. pl. is M xv, 2 [hieroglyphs] *m-t-u* 'with them'.

From *m-t* we may proceed to a form *mi-t* which seems to be merely a fuller form of *m-t*.   In consequence of the existence of a root *mi* in the verbal forms *min(a)*, *mini*, *minzi* (§ 75), *mi-t* in some of its occurrences had the appearance of a verb, but this was undeniably opposed by the almost certain absence of the existence of an impf. 3rd sing. form in -*t*, and I am compelled to relinquish this view.

The following examples make its use as a preposition certain: (M ix, 3, see translation at end) *nis-ḫ-m-t(a): ?-r-s u-b(a)-r-a-t(a) nis-zi mi-t:-mi* 'I will make sonship with thee; . . .? will take thee for a son with me.'   A form of oath (new Jerabis inscription) [hieroglyphs] *mi-t-m : 'god'-ḫ-m*

'(As) my great god is with me' varies with [hieroglyphs] *m-t-m* 'god'-*ḫ-m-u* (cf. M xxi, 4) (in the case of a plural subject a new Jerabis inscription gives 'As for me and So-and-so, "god"-*Tesup-s mi-t-an* (?, nearly certain) (As) Tesup is with us').   In M ii *m-t* of ll. 3, 4 apparently varies with *mi-t* as in l. 6 :?; ? *mi-t : Aḫu(?)-nis-ḫ-k-n: mi-r-a-an : t-e* 'So-and-so with Aḫuni (?) the chief in our presence hath said'.   Other instances of *mi-t* 'with' are to be seen in M lii, 3 *bis*, and presumably M iii, B, iv, A, B *mi-t* 'place' ;-*e*: M v, 3.[1]

---

[1] A perplexing group which occurs three times is *t(a)-a mi-t* in the following passages: M vii, 1 'Saith . . Make alliance with us (the *b(a)* of *b(a)-a* is omitted) *t(a)-a mi-t Bar-ḫi* (§ 73) "brother"-*nas*';

§ 82. *The termination -r, ri.*

In the cuneiform several nouns are given the ending *-ri.* These occur in—

(1) Z i, 4 : *ḥal-zi-ia-ri ŠUM-kan GAL-ZUN aš-ša .... Ḥal-za* is well known from A ii, 15 (*ḥal-za-a-i-na-an*), C i, 16 (*ḥal-za-i-kiš*(?)), Y 38 (*ḥal-za-iš*), Y 27, 29.

(2) *Ibid.* 12 : *ta-aš* alu-*ri-an-ṭa-an uš-ru* (?) ....

(3) Y 35 : ... *-ši ḥu-u-ma-an-te-eš a-ki-ir mu-me ki-i-ni GAL-ri* ...

In the hieroglyphs we find—

(4) M v, 1 : ⬚ ⊕ ⊠ ◎ ◁◁◢◯(?)⊠◖ 'god '-*r-e ar-k Ir*(?)'-*r-a* 'Irra (?) hath sworn (?) by the gods'.

(5) Restan 2

↟[⊠]◖ ⬚ ◖⊂↟ ⊕⊠◎ ◁◢↟ ⦚⥄◯⫴

mi-[r(?)]*-a* 'altar' *a-ḥ-mi* 'god'-*r-e ar-k-mi* ?-? *-e-t*(*a*). 'Before (?) the altar (?) (which (?)) I have made, by the gods I have sworn (?) thy pledges (?)'.

(6) M vi, 2 : ⫴↟⫴(?)◯ ↟⊠◖ ⦚ ◠⫴ ⊕⊞◎ ◁◢⫴ ⬚⥄◯

◖⥄ ⊕⊞◎ ◁◢⫴ *u-m-ni*(?)-*e mi-r-a Ḥ;-s-n*(*a*) 'god'-*r-e ar-k-ni*

?-?-*e a-u* 'god'-*r-e ar-k-as-n* [3] 'covenants before his (?) chief(s) by the gods we have sworn (?), So-and-so who by the gods swore (?) [4] unto us' ... [5] (see translation at end).

§ 83. *The word* ◖⫴ *a-u.*

In Hittite cuneiform in one passage (A i, 12) we find a word *a-u.* The quotation runs *ka-a-aš-ma-at-ta u-i-e-nu-un* ᵐ*Ir-ša-ap-pa* ᵃᵐ*ḥa-lu-ga-tal-la-an-mi-in a-u ma-ni DŪ-SAL-ti AN. UD-mi ku-in DAM-an-ni u-wa-ṭa-an-zi* '.... Irsappa my messenger *a-u* (i.e. to whom) our lady thy daughter, the gift for my Sun-god,

---

M xxxiii, 2 (see translation to M ix at end, *notes*) *te*(?) *s-e-t*(*a*) : *t*(*a*)-*a* : *mi-t:* 'wood'; ⁿ*T*(*a*)-*a-nas*; and in a new Jerabis inscr. *t*(*a*)-*a mi-t-k-u.* Are we to regard it as a compound 'regarding, for, on behalf of'? In the last case it is possible to see in *mi-t* the reading *mi-t*(*a*) ' with thee', and as is shown above (M ii, 6) *mi-t .. k-u* is a proper compound like *nu-mu-kan*; but at the same time the existence of the word *t-k-u* must not be forgotten (see translation of M ii, *notes* at end).

[1] I have suggested *ir* instead of the text-reading of *as* (the ibex head) which is close to a break in the stone: *as-r-a* is unintelligible to me, while *Ir-r-a* is a known name. But this is very doubtful.

[2] Text has ⫴.

[3] Transpose and read *ar-k-n-as.*

[4] On this word *ar-k* see § 88.

[5] Are we to add here the terminations in *-r*, i.e. *Ir-ḥu-*(?)*li-ni-r* M xxiii, 3 : 'enemy'-*a-ar* TA 5?

as (his) wife they give.' We find a word ⬦ 𝄢 *a-u* in similar passages in hiero-glyphs, thus:

(1) New Jerabis: ⬦𝄢 ⬡⌂ 𝄞 *a-u r-s-zi-t(a)*: 'who join(?) thee'.

(2) New Jerabis: ⬦𝄢 (name) ⬡ *a-u* (*N*): *r-u-t(a)* 'who (So-and-so) has....' (See § 69.)

(3) M lii, 4: (§ 11) : *Gar-a-li, ni IX-a-e* ⬦𝄢 ⬡ : *a-u : N-ka* ... 'Ķaral, son of the Nine, who Nks ...'.

(4) M vi, 2: .... 'covenants before his(?) chief(s) by the gods(?) we have sworn(?): (a chief's name) *a-u* "god"-*r-e ar-k-u-as* (So-and-so) who by the gods swore(?) unto us.' (See § 82 (6).)

Other instances are M xi, 5: perhaps xix, 4. Possibly ⬦ *a-u* in M i may be the accusative or the neuter. The translation appears to be 'who', 'which', the relative pronoun.

Syntax.

§ 84. The nominative sing. ends in ⌂ *s*, but it is not uncommon to find proper names which do not. For an instance of the nominative *-s* in the subject of a verb, cf. *san-s* in "*Pan-mi san-s* M ix, 1, but it is easier to find proper names rather than common marked with the nominative sign, e.g. *Irhulinas* (§ 9); the name in M ii, 1, &c. The accusative sing. in ▯ *u* is used after a verb, i.e. M ii, 4, § 64: the pl. in *-au* 'Saith Irhulîna unto *hu : -au san-s* the nobles of the king' (§ 52).

The genitive relationship is expressed:—

(1) By the mere juxtaposition of the two nouns, when they are proper names, e.g. *Mu-tal Gu-gu-'m* 'Mutallu of Gurgum' (§ 31); *Sul(?)-man(?) san As-r-a-*'place' 'Shalmaneser(?) king of Assyria' (§ 51); *Ar-am h K-as-k* 'Arame, chief of Kaški' (§ 35), *K-a-u-a-u-t Kat-t-e* 'the Ķauai of Katê' (§ 60). [So also in cuneiform even when not proper names: *NI-au SAG. DU-ši* 'oil for her head' (A i, 14): ? *ku-ša-ta DU. SAL-ti* 'for thy daughter's dowry(?)' (A i, 22)].

(2) On the other hand the dependent noun may precede, e.g. 'place'-*Ma* 'Lord of countries' (§ 44), "*San(n)-(g)gar-s Bar(?)-hu nin(n)* 'Sangar, son of Barhu(?)' (§ 3). Cf. § 66. [In cuneiform *AN. UD-mi ku-in* 'the gift of my Sun-god'? § 83.]

(3) The dependent noun may precede with the mark of the genitive case, e.g. 'god'-*Tesup-s : kar-k-n* 'for the memorial (?) of Tesup' (§ 64); 'engrave'-*r-a m-n-u-s*: 'leg'-*n* 'they have graven the leg(?) of the memorial (?)' (§ 64).

(4) The dependent noun may follow in the genitive, e.g. *hu : -an san-s* 'the nobles of the king' (§ 52).

(5) The complicated system in § 66, to which the examples of M ii, 3 must be added: *Am-[r]-a-s : ID ; -nin : ID ; -s : Am-r-a-s : ID ; -nin(n) : ID ; -s : Am-r-a-s : ID ; -nin(n) : ID ; -s*, &c.

§ 85. *The order of words in a sentence.*

The subject of the sentence—

(1) May precede the verb: *Am-r-a-s* 'engrave' *k-n-li-s*, &c., 'Amras hath engraved . . .' (M ii, 5): *kat-mi n-m-n-an* 'engrave' *e-a Tesup-id*(?)-*r-a-h-m-*'place', 'I have engraved our covenant with Benhadad the Great('s city?)' (M iii, B, 3): *kat-s : hat*(?)-*ni-n t-e* 'He saith unto (our ?) alliance(?)' (M ii, 6): *Kat-t-e : nis-e a-an-t-nin* (M ix, 4).

(2) May follow the verb: *te*(?)-*san hu : -an san-s "Ir-hu-li-n(a)-s* 'Saith Irhulina unto the nobles of the king' (§ 52). This is most common in the opening phrase of inscriptions.

(3) Participles (if participles they be) are preceded by their subject (§ 69): a case of a participle used as a noun occurs in M x, 2 (§ 69).

(4) Imperatives may go at the end of the sentence (? § 69), or at the beginning, cf. M x, 1, 'make brotherhood' (and the causal imperative, § 37).

The finite verb frequently is put at the end of a sentence: *a-b(a)-u-t(a) Tesup-id*(?)-*r-a-h-s* 'god'-*Tesup-s : kar-k-n : m-ni-u a-t(a)-t(a)*, 'Thy father (?) (and) Benhadad the Great for the glory(?) of the god Tesup have given thee a memorial (?)' (M ii, 1); or the object may be put at the end, following the verb: 'god'-*r-e ar-k-mi ?-?-e-t(a)* 'by the god(s) I have sworn(?) thy pledges(?)' (Restan 2).

The adjective follows the noun: 'god'-*h* 'great god' (M xi, 4), 'we are one speech' (§ 61), 'My great god' is 'god'-*h-m* (§ 81).

Adjectives are formed from nouns by the addition of *-nas*: e.g. in Hittite cuneiform (as Professor Sayce pointed out) *an-p[a. .] ha-at-ta-an-na-aš LUGAL-uš* (A ii, 15), which may mean 'the Hittite king', if the adjective be allowed to precede its noun. In hieroglyphs I have found it in M xxxiii, 3 'wood'; "*T(a)-a-nas* 'Tyanian wood'.

The verb 'to say' may be used either with an accusative directly following it, as in M iii, B, 1, or the subject may follow and then the object marked by the enclitic preposition *k-n* (as in M xxi, 1).

§ 86. Scheme of Verbs in the Hieroglyphs. (See § 69.)

Imperfect Tense.

	Person	Ending	
Singular	3	—	*T-E* 'he saith': *SAN* 'he maketh' *AR-K* 'he swore'.
	2	-*s-t(a)*	*SAN-s-t(a)* 'thou shalt act'.
	1	-*m, -mi, mu*	*SAN-m* 'I will make': ⊟-*K-m(i)* 'I will fight': *K-mu* 'I will go': *AR-K-mi* 'I have sworn': *AR-mi* 'I have joined'.
Plural	3 (a)	-*r-a*	*T-E-r-a* 'they say': *SAN-r-a* 'they have made': *S-r-a* 'they write'.
	3 (b)	-*n-zi(-zi)*	*MI-n-zi* 'they have accepted (?)': *SAN-(n)-zi* 'they have made'.
	2	-*u-t* (?)	[*R-r-u-t*].
	1	-*n(a), -ni(?), -n*	*MI-n(a)* 'we have accepted (?)': (*ID*)-*SAN-n(a)* 'we will make...': probably *ID-K-n(a)* 'we will fight': *AR-K-ni* 'we have sworn'? (§ 82): *SAN-n* 'let us make' (M x, 8(?): lii, 5).

Imperative.

Singular	2	—	*SAN* 'do thou make'.

Participle (?).

Singular		-*i*	(*TE*(?)-*ḫi* 'greeting', see Causatives).
Plural		-*u*	⊟-*u* 'accepting' (?): *S-u* (?) 'writing' (?).

Perfect Tense (see § 70).

Singular	3 (a)	-*t*	*a-T(A)-t* 'he gave': *a-K-t* 'he came': *a-S-t* 'he wrote' (?): *a-AN-t* 'he set' (?).
	3 (b (?))	-*ir*	*a-T(A)-ir* (see § 10).
	2		Not found.
	1	-*mi*	*a-H-mi* 'I made'.
Plural	3 (a)	-*n-zi*	(*ID*)-*a-SAN-n-zi* 'they have accepted': *a-AN-zi* 'they set (?)'
	3 (b)	—	*a-T(A)* 'they gave'.
	2		Not found.
	1	[*n*, see suffixed forms]	

Suffixed Forms (see § 58).

Imperfect. *SAN-m-t(a)* 'I will make with thee': *r-nin-n-t(a)* (TA 5): *r-s-zi-t(a)* (§ 83).

Perfect. *a-AN-t-:-mi* 'he hath set me': *a-SAN-n-t(a)* (§ 46 (3)).

The Causative Conjugation (§§ 37, 69, 73).

The following forms exist: *impf.* *TE*(?)-*ḫi* 'he greets' (or 'sends a message'): 'brother'-*ḫ-n-zi* 'they have made brotherhood', : 'ally'-*ḫ-n-zi* 'they have made alliance': *ma-*⌂*-B-R-ḫ-n-zi* 'they have made ⌂-*b-r*' (? perfect augmented): *nis-ḫ-m-t(a)* 'I will make sonship with thee'. *Imper.* : 'ally'-*ḫ* 'make alliance': verbal noun :'ally'-*ḫ-s* 'making alliance': participles *TE*(?)-*ḫi*, *TE*(?)-*ḫi-u*(?).

The Historical Bearing of the published Hieroglyphic Inscriptions.

§ 87. Thanks to the kindness of the Trustees of the British Museum, as I stated in § 1, I have been able to draw much of the preceding material for my decipherment of Hittite from sources which were available to few, the inscriptions found at Carchemish in 1911 when I was there. Whether my system is correct or not is for others to decide; I must reiterate my indebtedness to Professor Sayce's pioneer discovery of the name Tyana, but thenceforward our respective methods of decipherment and translation coincide in few points other than those given in the note to § 1. The proof of a decipherment of this kind depends in a great measure on the power which it affords to read and identify well-known proper names, and once a number of such names have been identified, such as occur in the same period, by the use of the same values for the characters in each case, the correctness of the method is in a fair way to be established. In this article I have put forward a system which identifies in the inscriptions already published the personal names of '*Aram*, chief of *Kask*' (§§ 24, 30, 35), *Araras* (= Ariarathes, § 12), *Guam* (= Giammu, § 29), *Hunu* (= Aḥunu, § 12), *Karal* (§ 11), *K'ra* (= Kirrî, §§ 27, 35), probably *Lalli* (§ 50 (6)), and possibly *Shalmaneser* (§ 55); *Targašnalli* (§ 11), and the place-names *Ams* (= Homs? translation of M iv, A, at end), *Amt(a)* (= Hamath, § 16), *Aninna* (= Adinnu?, § 80), *Asir, Asra* (= Assyria, § 51), *Bashar* (= Til-Bašerê?, § 55), *Gugum* (= Gurgum, § 29), *M(w)tr* (= Pitru?, translation to M xii, 2, at end), *Ninmi* (= Nineveh, § 51), *Nram* (= Naharaim?, translation of TA, at end), *Ta* (the country of the Tai tribe?, translation of M xxxii, 2, at end), *Tabal* (§ 44), *Umk* (= Amk, § 52), and the tribal name *Katnaut* (the Katnai, § 60). But still more important is the occurrence together on one unpublished inscription of many well-known names (several of which I have also identified elsewhere): *Sangar* (§ 3), *Carchemish* (§ 4), *Arḥulini* (§ 9 ff.), '*Panammi* (§ 28), the king with *Bar-ḥi* (= Bar-Ḥayâ, § 73) his brother', *Muttallu* (§ 31), *Kâk* (= Assyr. Kâki, Kakia, § 7, *note*, § 24), *Ninni* (§ 49), 'the tribe *Kauaut* of *Katti*' (= the Kauai of Katê, §§ 27, 60), *Benhadad* (§ 33, *note*), and the place-name *Mizir* (Muzri, § 37, *note*), which will go far, I hope, to prove my thesis. The syllabic values thus deciphered allow of our transliterating the inscriptions correctly, and of obtaining at least the base for a moderate and sensible idea of their meaning from the various clues afforded to us.

In the following short section on the historical interest of the published Hittite inscriptions, in accordance with the Trustees' wishes, I am omitting all reference to the connected historical contents of the new inscriptions of 1911 (which are the latest which I have seen), and particularly the long text, which,

as I venture to judge even from my meagre translations, will on publication be seen to throw a flood of light on the history of this period.

In the case of the published inscriptions with which we are now concerned, I shall assume, for this section at least, that my translations are moderately correct.

Hitherto in dealing with the period of the ninth century B.C. we have been able to draw our information from Assyrian or Hebrew sources, with sparse notices from the Aramaic inscriptions; we can now for the first time see the Hittite point of view, and realize something of their political necessities and diplomatic methods. The phrase 'Make alliance with us', which occurs about a score of times in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, allows us at once to infer that the majority of published Hittite texts relate to the making of defensive or offensive alliances. Certain it is from history that the Hittites and Syrians were accustomed to make treaties both with foreign nations and amongst themselves: we have only to read the Egyptian, Assyrian, Aramaic, and Hebrew records to recognize this custom. Moreover, the kings were wont to adopt or make brotherhood with one another, as Bel-pô'êl did with Ḥayâ, and it is quite probable that the elaborate hieroglyph of two men crossing arms (No. 68 of my list, which is shortened elsewhere to the form No. 82) represents the act of making blood-brotherhood by opening a vein in the arm of each and allowing the blood to mingle. The treaty of Kheta-sar and Rameses II in the fourteenth century is a good instance of an alliance: Shalmaneser, too, in the ninth century mentions by name the different chiefs who ally themselves against him; Benhadad's 'leagues' are well known from the Old Testament and the Assyrian texts; and Zakir in his stele quoted in the note to § 23 names the kings who join 'Bar-Hadad, the son of Hazael' in war against him. Consequently we can approach the question of treaty-making by the Hittites on their stelae with some prior acquaintance with their customs.

In the hieroglyphic texts, when a Hittite king sought alliance, he would begin his inscription with a direct invitation:—'Saith Benhadad unto his brother Mutallu the great, of Gurgum the great', suggesting bluntly 'Make alliance with us'. There seems to me to be at least two possibilities about such inscriptions: one is that they were sent actually and bodily in some sort as gifts, but in the main as a letter with an invitation to alliance; the other that they indicate the overtures and conversations between the kings concerned, and when the pourparlers for the alliance had been discussed and concluded over a meal eaten in brotherly love, the inscription was recorded in the same place as a final formality binding both to their agreements. The first is certainly indicated by M xvi, A, the inscription from Malatia, wherein Benhadad and three other members of a coalition address themselves to

Lalli (?), the king of Tabal (Malatia), ' [O thou] son of the ally of our forefathers, Lalli (?), make alliance with us '.[1] This stela (1·20 m. × 60 cm. × 30 cm.) would be an easy matter to transport, and the same might well be said of the Mar'ash lion and others. In the case of the inscription found at Restan, twenty kilometres distant from Hamath, we find that it begins in an exactly similar way to the long inscription from Hamath, and hence it appears as if one was sent as a missive.

Be this as it may, if the ruler of a city were inclined to accede to an invitation for alliance, whether the invitation was verbal or sent thus, he had only to display the stela in the market-place for such as could read to con and explain to their fellows, just as the Egyptian king inscribed his treaty with the Hittites on the walls of Karnak. With this explanation we can proceed to the historical contents of the published inscriptions, beginning with the relations of Benhadad II of Damascus with the surrounding tribes.

The need for Hittite and Syrian alliance against the great power Assyria is obvious from the Assyrian history given in § 20 ff., and it was Benhadad, a Napoleon of his time, who knit the tribes together. If the name of the king Tesup (Adad)-?-r of the Hittite be, as I think it was, Adad-idri or Benhadad,[2] we can see from his inscriptions his far-reaching and ubiquitous power and influence. He is tireless in making treaties with the sturdy highlanders to the north of Syria, whose gods were the gods of the hills. He left at least two monuments of his energetic diplomacy at Mar'ash, the ancient Markasi of Gurgum, whereon he had inscribed his alliance with Mutallu [3] of Gurgum, his ' son ' Bauli,[4] and his 'grandson'(?) Nist [5]; the earlier of these is published in M lii, the later in M xxi. He begins by asking his ' friend ', or, as he calls him in the later of the inscriptions, his ' brother ' Mutallu, to make alliance with him, tabulating in his request the names of his Syrian and Hittite allies as an inducement to persuade him to join his alliance. It is not easy to tell what Mutallu did, for the Assyrian account represents him (see § 24) as paying tribute to the Assyrians in their western campaign of 859, but, from the efforts which Benhadad made to secure his help, he was accounted a valuable ally. Among the allies whom Benhadad holds forth to Mutallu as future friends we find, in M lii,

---

[1] It is curious to see this same reminiscence of previous alliance appearing in Asa's message to Benhadad (1 Kings xv. 19), ' There is a league between me and thee, and between my father and thy father '.

[2] See § 33 for this identification : § 25 for his history.

[3] See § 24 for his history: his name occurs on the following published monuments—M ii, 1 : xix, 2 (?) : xxi, 1, 2, 5 : [xxii] : [xxiii, 2, 3 ?] : lii, 1, 5 (?) : Seal xlii, 5 : TA 1.

[4] Unidentified at present (§ 41, *note* 1) : name occurs M xxi, 2 : lii, 1, 4.

[5] Unidentified at present (§ 49) : M v, 4 (?) : xxi, 2 : lii, 3 : TA 4.

Hunu,[1] who must be Ahunu of Bît-Adini; Bark[2] (unidentified, but well known in Hittite); Tesup-mina[3] (presumably the accus. of Tesup-mis of Ivriz); Nks,[4] who is mentioned with Sangar on M xv, B, and described by Benhadad as (chief) of Aninna, probably the Adinnu of the Assyrian inscriptions, one of the first towns of the district of Hamath to fall before Shalmaneser; probably Arhu-lini,[5] i.e. Irhulîna of Hamath, Benhadad's great friend; Garali,[6] i.e. Karal of the Aramaic inscriptions of Sinjerli, the father of Panammu I; Katte,[7] whom the Assyrians call Katê of the tribe of Kauai. We may put the date of this inscription at *c.* 860 B.C. In the second inscription, a few years later than the former, Karal has dropped out, being probably dead, and a 'Pan-mi the king'[8] is mentioned, in whom I am inclined to see Karal's son, who is usually written Pan-am-mi[9]; Arammi[10] is also mentioned, doubtless the Arame of Bît-Agûsi or Urartu, called 'Aram of Kask' on M xi. If we put this inscription later than 859 we must assume that Mutallu was still a power in the land: if earlier than 850 Pan-mi cannot well be Panammi.

From Mar'ash, too, comes a sculpture (M xxii) representing Tesup-k and [Mutallu (?)] at their historic banquet, making alliance, for this is the meaning of those so-called 'ceremonial feasts' which have nothing to do with gods or their worshippers. Just such another feast-sculpture is found at Karaburshlu, and another at Malatia (M xvi, B), which is inscribed with the name of A-[ra(?)]-mi-s (i.e. Arame ?). It is to this custom that reference is made, I believe, in TA 7, 'our covenant with thee at my feast I have joined' (§ 68 (7)). Before leaving the subject of Mutallu of Gurgum, it is worth recalling that his seal is in existence, and his name is twice inscribed on it, 'Mutal of Gu(r)gum' (M xlii, 5, § 31).

Benhadad's records do not, however, end with the two inscriptions to Mutallu. He is one of four kings (of whom Irhulîna may possibly be another) who join in sending a message to the king of Tabal (whose name therein must

---

[1] See § 24 for his history: name occurs M lii, 1, 2: TA 1. For the lost *a*, cf. Gusi (Shalm. Mo., II, 12) with Agûsi (*ib.*, 27). I have used the phrase Bît-Agûsi for his district for convenience. (Cf. Maspero, *Les Empires*, p. 34.

[2] See § 73: name occurs M i: vi, 4 (?): x, 2: xi, 4: xxi, 3: xxiii, c, 2(?): lii, 1: TA 3, 5.

[3] Name occurs M xxxii, 1, 2, 4 (?): xxxiii, 3, 12: xxxiv, A, 1: lii, 2.

[4] Name occurs M xv, B, 2: lii, 2, 4.

[5] See § 25 for his history: name occurs M iii, B, 1: iv, A, B, 1: vi, 1: Restan 1: xvi, A, 1 (?), c, 1 (?): xlvii, 1 (?): xxiii, 3 (?): lii, 2 (?).

[6] See Sinjerli inscription of Panammu I (Von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen*), § 11: name occurs M lii, 4, 5 (?).

[7] See § 24 for his history: name occurs M vi, 2 (?): ix, 4: xix, 3 (?), 8: lii, 3 (?), 5.

[8] See § 56.   [9] Name occurs M ii, 3 (?): vi, 3: xi, 2: xv, B, 3: TA 2 (?).

[10] See § 24 ff. for his history, and § 30: name occurs M xi, 4: (? xvi, B): xvi, c, 2: xxi, 1, 3.

be read Lalli[1]) on a lion-hunting stela found near Malatia, 'We Irḫulina(?), Benhadad, ? and ? greet (or send a message to) the lord of Tabal, the ally of our forefathers: O Lalli, make alliance with us.' This again must be prior to 854. Again, the Babylon stela (M ii) (which we must assume was at some time carried to Babylon as loot), from Ṭa-?-ar-s to Mutallu, 'his son(?)', states that Benhadad was concerned in presenting the image of Hadad (Tesup) which forms part of the stela, and that other well-known kings have taken part in the gift, among whom is a king named Amras, which must be the same name as Ambaris, a king of Tabal in Sargon's time (see translation of M ii, at end). Benhadad is also mentioned on the Aleppo inscription: and one of the Hamath inscriptions of Irḫulina ends with ' I have engraved our covenant with Benhadad (or the city of Benhadad) the great'.

Next to Benhadad in importance comes his great friend Irḫulina, king of Hamath. Three of his inscriptions, varying but slightly, chiefly in proper names, come from Hamath (M iii, B: iv, A: iv, B), and in these he speaks to 'the nobles of the king', asking them to make alliance.[2] Another inscription, a long one, comes from Hamath (M vi), and another from Restan, twenty kilometres south of Hamath, which show that a certain Bar-?-s spoke to Irḫulina, asking alliance which was agreed on, while a certain chief, whose name I cannot read,[3] tells Bar-?-s apparently that he has sworn his pledges before an altar which he has made. The long text from Hamath mentions this same chief 'who swore to us by the gods', and Panammi, [with Irra[4](?)] and possibly Katê.

Benhadad and Irḫulina are the two most noteworthy chiefs in the great coalition against Assyria; the remaining components of Benhadad's leagues are summed up in the Assyrian records roughly in such expressions as 'besides the kings of the Hittites' or 'the twelve kings of the Hittites',[5] or written out more fully (as in the case of the battle of Karkar) so as to include Ahab (whose name I cannot find in the Hittite inscriptions), the Kauai, whose chief Katê occurs frequently in Hittite, the Muzrai,[6] and some other tribes.

The kings of Sam'al and Ia'di play a great part in these inscriptions, as has been already mentioned. Besides the mention of Karal in a Mar'ash text, Panammi occurs fairly frequently and we have also the 'brother of Panammi', whose name, as I have tried to show in § 73, is to be read Bar-ḫi, i.e. Bar-Ḥayâ

---

[1] See translation of M xvi, A at end.   [2] On the difficulty which follows see § 80.

[3] His name occurs [M iii, B, 2]: iv, A, B, 2: vi, 2: Restan 2: xix, A, 5.

[4] Unidentified: name occurs M i: v, 1 (?): xxiii, 2.

[5] I cannot help thinking that the 'Nine' who are so often mentioned in the hieroglyphs are connected with these 'Twelve' in some way.

[6] Note that Shalmaneser calls himself *mušamḳit* *mâtu Muzri u* *mâtu Uraṛṭu* on his Til-Barsip inscription (see my article, *PSBA.*, xxxiv, 1912, 72, 10).

(Kalammu). It is possible that Bar-ḥi's name is to be read on the Kirtschoglu inscription (M vii) which comes from Amk.

From the Sinjerli inscription of Kalammu we learn that Assyria helped him against a kingdom which appears most probably to have been Gurgum, a fact which indicates the break up of the Syro-Hittite alliance at some time not long after the murder of Benhadad, and the absorption under Assyrian influence of the kingdom of Sam'al, which appears to have been popular in the time of Panammu II, who is declared to have been the vassal of Tiglath-Pileser by Bar-Rekub, his son. The proof of the backsliding of Kalammu to Assyria is of great importance in the explanation of the Carchemish texts; for, if Kalammu is Bar-ḥi, the brother of Panammi, it will be natural to expect Panammi to have left the Hittite coalition too, and become subservient to Assyria, and, in consequence of this evidence of defection, it is not unlikely that Sangar of Carchemish and others who wavered between the two powers, sometimes paying tribute to the Assyrians, sometimes fighting against them, ultimately broke away from the Hittite coalitions, and yielded to the expanding might of Assyria. The latest mention of Carchemish in Shalmaneser's reign is apparently in 850 B.C., when Sangar is still on the throne: after this there is nothing further known from the Assyrian records about either Sangar or Carchemish until a brief mention of the city in Šamši-Adad's time. In other words, Shalmaneser had no further trouble with Sangar after 850. The reason is not far to seek: in the monolith inscription, after describing his warfare with Sangar in his eponym year, he goes on to state that he assessed him in a yearly tribute, and took his daughter into his harem, and in the adjacent lines he describes a similar procedure with 'Haianu, son of Gabbaru'. What year this was is doubtful; I do not think we can fix it accurately, as the text not improbably describes a long process of subjection. It is likely that his marriage represents the end of hostilities. Moreover, he was firmly establishing himself at Til-Barsip which was by now an Assyrianized city, and hence it was only natural for Sangar to attach himself to this great new power. Further, as we have seen from the inscription of Kalammu, Sam'al was turning to Assyria for help against Gurgum(?) a little later, and it seems therefore clear that the Hittite coalition gradually dissolved after the death of the master-mind Benhadad. Indeed, his successor Hazael is deserted by almost every element of the former coalitions. With the death of Benhadad came the opportunity for Shalmaneser to break the individual power of each state singly, which had given him trouble: Sangar, Haianu (Hayâ), and Arame had yielded, and after these we find the Kauai attacked in 840, 835, and 834 (in the latter two years Katê, their chief, is mentioned by name), in 838 Tabal, and in 837 Lalli of Milid with the kings of Tabal are overwhelmed; while in 834 Kirrî, the brother of Katê, is put on the throne of the Kauai.

If we omit the text M xv, B, a limestone slab which apparently contains over a portrait of Sangar the inscription relating to alliances with Nks and Panammi, we cannot help noticing the difference of the well-known Carchemish texts exhibited in the British Museum from other published Hittite monuments. These Carchemish texts are of basalt, one graven with an Assyrian winged figure, a small replica of the winged figures of Aššurnaṣirpal's palaces; a second is graven with the figure of a king holding a staff, as Assyrian kings are represented sometimes. The two longest inscriptions in the Museum are broken, one being inscribed on a column, which looks as though it had been transversely cut to admit of a Hittite full-face sculpture and guilloche pattern being engraved thereon.

In § 51 ff. I have tried to show that these three inscriptions contain the name of [Shalmaneser] 'King of Nineveh', or 'King of Assyria', and I hope to show that they bear the records or suggestions of alliances between Shalmaneser and the king of Carchemish and the chiefs of the neighbouring districts, one perhaps being his direct message to the former with a sculpture of himself.

M xi, as far as I can make it out, first relates that certain 'kings, with Panammi (and) Barḥi have sworn the pledges of (?) Shalmaneser (?), the king of Assyria', thus referring to the ultimate friendship of Sam'al and Ia'di with Assyria. Next we meet with the names Targu[r ?]-ni, Shalmaneser (?) king of Nineveh, and others who have 'given covenants'. L. 4 'Aram, the chief of Kaški, hath sworn before (his) great god (that) he . . .', &c., and finally comes the mention of the covenant of ' K-r-a the chief', who can be none other than the Kirrî[1] appointed in Katê's stead, which would lead us to assign this inscription to 834 B.C. approximately. This would make M ix somewhat anterior in date: in this text mention is made of a king called . . -as, 'Shalmaneser (?), king of Nineveh, the lord of lands, like a great god, (and) Pan(am)mi (?) the king' discussing friendship and the making of brotherhood. Moreover it apparently says that Katê and Bat[2] 'count us (?) as sons'. The Targu-ras[3] mentioned on these two inscriptions would almost appear to be a king of Carchemish subsequent to Sangar; for we now find on M x the abbreviated form Targu simply. This, a slab engraved with the king's figure, is directed to the king of Carchemish apparently; 'Shalmaneser (?) king of Assyria, lord of lands, sendeth a message to Targu-(ras) "make brotherhood with one making war against Sas . ., [also a king named 'The Sun is king', the ruler of Amk according to TA 4 ?], Bark,[4] chiefs of the Nine : O Targu(ras), my ally, . . .[5] is a foe: [do thou with him] make

---

[1] Name occurs M viii, 4: xi, 4, 5.   [2] Occurs also in TA 5.
[3] Name occurs M i (as Targu-r-r-s): ix, 2, 4: xi, 1: cf. xi, 2: xii, 4: xxxii, 2.
[4] See § 73.   [5] See translation of M x, at end.

war: ?-ar, a chief of the Nine, is a foe"'. Finally he ends with 'Against my foe [be friendly] with a friend: with a foe let us fight'.

Once outside Carchemish do we find Shalmaneser's (?) name, on the Gürün inscription which is too mutilated to give good sense; Gürün is probably the Guriania described in an Assyrian letter (K 1080), as Professor Sayce pointed out. Once also do we find the name Assyria apparently on the inscription found by Professor Ramsay on the Kara Dagh, fifty miles south-east of Konia; it must not be forgotten that even Tiglath-Pileser I (1100 B.C.) made incursions far into the north-west.

Lastly, in this class we have the great inscription ot Tel Ahmar (Til Barsip); it makes Ahuni (Huni) to be the son of Mutallu, although whether it is the real or adopted son is impossible to say, and invites him to alliance, apparently also mentioning Barhi [perhaps Panammi (?)], Guam [1] (Giammu of the Balikh region), Bark, 'the Sun is king' the ruler of Amk mentioned above, Nist (the 'son' of Bauli, from Mar'ash inscriptions), and the kings represented by the hare-sign and the leg-sign, both contemporaries of Benhadad (M xxi and M xvi, A). Since Giammu was murdered by his own people in 854, and the coalition of Haianu, Ahuni, Sangar, &c.,was between 860-857, we may fix the date of this inscription at about this period. It is noteworthy in Shalmaneser's monolith inscription that just preceding the account of this coalition we find Ahuni and Mutallu closely mentioned. Whether Haianu was really alive, or whether his son had by this time taken his place, as seems likely from the inscription, is a difficult point.

Finally, on the Aintab inscription (Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*, pl. XLI) we meet the proper name ⊐◦⊫⊐ *K-a-k*, i.e. the Assyrian Kâki or Kakia. (For his history see § 24.)

Turning from these inscriptions which begin with the machinations of Benhadad and Irhulina among the tribes and ultimately end with the dominance of Shalmaneser, we may examine the last group from Andaval, Bulgar-maden, Bor, and Ivriz (M xxxi–xxxiv), which appear, from the names in them, to be about Shalmaneser's date. Notably do we find Tesup-mis[2] (who apparently occurs as Tesup-min(a), accusative, in M lii, 2) whose portrait is given on the rock at Ivriz. These four inscriptions are concerned with the relations between A-r-ar-a-s[3] (which must be Ariarathes, the name of several kings of Cappadocia), the king of Tyana, Tesup-mina, Tal-h-s[4], and others: Araras suggests alliance

---

[1] See § 25 for the history: name occurs M xvi, c, 1: Kellekli, § 70.

[2] The position of the land of Salla appears to be to the north-east of Bît-Adini, and hence is perhaps too remote for us to compare its king Adad-'me (Adadimmi, Adadmi) who paid tribute to Aššurnaṣirpal, with Tesup-mis. The names, however, are worth comparison. His name occurs as Tesup-mis M xxxiii, 12: xxxiv, A, 1: Tesup-mi-n(a), [M xxxii?]: xxxiii, 3: lii, 2.

[3] Name occurs M xxxi, c, 3: xxxii, 1, 2, 3: xxxiii, A, 1: xxxiv, A, 2, B, 1.

[4] Occurs M xxxii, 1: xxxiii, 1.

to Tal-ḫ-s, and sends him a present of 'Tyanian wood' (M xxxiii). Tesup-mis was adopted by Araras as his son, in proper fashion, so that Tesup-mis takes as another name Araranins (the equivalent in Greek would be Ariarathides ; see M xxxii, 1, where it is used clearly as a name). The two kings have made a record of their new relationship on the rock at Ivriz: the smaller, Araras, greets his new son in so many words, and the larger amplifies his name Tesup-mis by the addition 'I am Araranins'.[1]

On the question of the Indogermanic origin of the Hittite Language.

§ 88. Since the publication of the Arzawa letters in cuneiform it has been held that the language in which they were written was Indogermanic, and the subsequent discovery of 'Hittite' cuneiform tablets from the Hittite country settled the point that Hittite cuneiform showed practically the same language as the Arzawa letters. It was held that the terminations -mi, -ta, the nominative š, the accus. -n, the root da 'to give', the word ḫat-ra-a (ἕτερος), among many other suggested comparisons, all pointed to an Indogermanic origin.

As I cannot claim to be an Indogermanic scholar, I have only ventured to make what seemed to be the most probable comparisons, placing the Hittite and the suggested Indogermanic words side by side for others to discuss.

Personal suffixed pronouns, compared with Indog. personal pronouns.[2]

Hittite.   -mi, -mu, -m : -t(a) : -s : -na, -ni, -n, -an :-ut(?) :-u,

Indog. (accus.).   *eme, *me, *mē(m) : *t(u̯)e, *t(u̯)ē(m) : *s(u̯)e, *sē(m) : *nes, *nōs, *n̥s, *n̥sme : *u̯es, *u̯ōs, *usme.

There would be little difficulty in seeing the Indog. in the Hittite mi-a 'I (am)', for in Old Irish the accus. does duty for the nominative (Brugmann, § 439, 2). The plural minia is more difficult.

The case-endings of the masc. noun in the singular.

Hittite (sing.):   (n.)-s : (a.)-n : (g.)-s : (d.)-i.
Indog.:   (n.)-s : (a.)-m : (g.)-s : (d.)-ai̯.

---

[1] Can A-r-ar-a-nin-s be the original of the Greek form Ἀριάμνης (the name of two kings of Cappadocia, one the father of Ariarathes I) ; or should we see the -μνης in the -mina of Tesup-mina, in which case Tesup- would take the place of Aria- (= Ara 'god ?', § 44, note 1)?

[2] I have taken the grammatical forms from Brugmann's Comp. Gram. of the Indogermanic Languages. I am much indebted to Professor Conway of Manchester University and Mr. Lionel D. Barnett of the British Museum for advice on this matter, and particularly for their timely caution against the danger of making comparisons: they are, of course, not responsible for anything in this section, which is, after all, only a collection of suggestions.

The Hittite plural $(n.)$-e : $(a.)$-an : $(g.)$-a-e : [$(d$?)-$a\check{s}$ from cuneiform] does not follow the primitive Indog. -es, -$\underset{.}{n}s$, -$\overset{o}{o}m$, -bh- -m-, but rather those forms taken by the Greek -$o\iota$, -ovs, ωv, -$o\iota s$. The neuter plur. remains -e in the accusative, i.e. n-m-n-e (§ 68).

The tenses of the verb.

Imperf. Hittite: $\sqrt{}$-mi, $\sqrt{}$-m : $\sqrt{}$-s-$t(a)$ (?) : $\sqrt{}$: $\sqrt{}$-$n(a)$: $\sqrt{}$-u-t(?) : $\sqrt{}n$-zi.

Pres. Indog.: $\sqrt{}$-mi : $\sqrt{}$-si : $\sqrt{}$-ti : $\sqrt{}m\breve{e}s(i)$: $\sqrt{}$-te : $\sqrt{}$-nti.

Perf. Hittite (augmented tense)

    a-$\sqrt{}$-mi :   ?   : a-$\sqrt{}$-t : [a-$\sqrt{}$-n § 86] :   ?   : a-$\sqrt{}$-n-zi.

Pret. Indog.: e-$\sqrt{}$-m : e-$\sqrt{}$-s : e-$\sqrt{}$-t : e-$\sqrt{}$-$m\breve{e}(m)$: e-$\sqrt{}$-te : e-$\sqrt{}$-nt.

The ending -r-a, which only occurs in the 3rd pers. plur., is comparable to the Aryan -r 'almost exclusively in the 3rd plur.' (Brugmann, § 1077), e.g. Avest. -r^e. The Hittite ending -r, -ir (3rd pers. sing., § 69) may perhaps be connected with this, but compare Brugmann, § 1076 ff.

The prepositions in § 77 will suggest Indog. equivalents: a possible enclitic $t(a)$ = 'and', Gk. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ (§ 78) : 'like' (§ 76) comparable to Indog. relative forms. The following roots and meanings seem to be fairly certain: san 'make, do', Skr. $j\acute{a}n$, Z. zan 'create'. k 'go, come', Indog. $g\^{a}$. (The hieroglyph for the sign k is a foot.) $t(a)$ 'give', Skr. $d\^{a}$.

The sense of the following words fits the translation; the Indog. meanings are comparable: ar-k 'to swear', Gk. $\H{o}\rho\kappa o s$ 'an oath' (a difficult comparison to maintain): ar 'to join', Indog. $\^{a}r$- 'to fit': [a-$t(u)$(?) 'father (?)', Gk. $\H{a}\tau\tau a$]: k-a-n 'friend (?)', Skr. $c\acute{a}nas$ 'favour', Z. $cin\^{a}h$ 'love' (Indog. $\sqrt{}k'ana$), or $\sqrt{}k\^{a}$ 'to love': kar 'commemoration', 'praise' (M ii, 2, $notes$), Indog. kar: m-n-u 'a memorial stela (?)', Indog. men 'consider', &c. (M ii, 2): n-m-n 'a covenant, agreement (?)', cf. Indog. $n\^{o}mn$ 'a name' (Skr. $n\^{a}^{i}man$). See § 68. The Hittite sense apparently does not allow of it meaning 'signature', but it is possible that the meaning 'agreement' arose out of the primitive idea of signing a name. The Indog. root $n\^{o}$ = 'to mark, designate'.[1]

Compare also the suggested Indog. words in the list of signs. A curious parallel is suggested by the word ⊓⊓⊓⊓ san, both 'to make' and 'a king', for the English word $king$ is supposed to come ultimately from the root gen 'to create', the Skr. $j\^{a}n$.

---

[1] We have to add to these the following words from Hittite cuneiform: at-ti-$i\check{s}$-$\check{s}i$ 'his, her father (?)', like a-$t(u)$ (?) above (Y 17) (cf. a-ta-mu, A ii, 1); an-ni-$i\check{s}$-$\check{s}i$ 'his, her mother (?)' (Y 17) $\H{a}vv\acute{\iota}s$, $anus$; e-$e\check{s}$-mi, e-$e\check{s}$-tu, Indog. $\sqrt{}as$- 'to be' (A i, 7, 10: Y r. 3): $\d{h}at$-ra-a, $\H{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho os$? (or pa-ra-a A i, 20: ii, 10: B 2: P 16: Y r. 38 (but see § 48)).

Consonantal changes.

It would seem probable that Hittite *s* sometimes varied with Skr. *j*, as in *san, ján*, and *as* 'ibex', Ved. *ajás* 'he-goat', but it is difficult to say anything with certainty yet until the Indogermanic origin has been thoroughly proved. At the same time the Hittite *s* also represents the Indog. *s* (as in the nominative *s*).

Assyrian words in Hittite.

§ 89. As is to be expected, Hittite cuneiform, being borrowed from Mesopotamia, shows several Babylonian words. Some of these are written ideographically:—*AN. MEŠ-aš* 'gods' (Y *r.* 8, 9, 10), *AN.IM-aš* (&c.), Tesup (Y 3, 21, 38), *AN. UD-i* (&c.) the Sun-god (Y 21), *KUR-ia-aš* 'country' (A i, 25), *DÚ. MEŠ-aš* 'sons' (Y 42), *HAR-SAG-MEŠ-aš* 'mountains' (Y 10), *LUGAL-uš* (A ii, 16), &c., &c.; but more important are those written syllabically, for they show for certain that several foreign words were actually borrowed and pronounced as written. These are *a-bu-ia* (W 19), *a-bi-ia* 'my father' (Y *r.* 39) (*a-bi-e* Y 32, 33, *a-bu-u-uš* Y 37, 38, *a-bu-u-un-na* Y 27, 31, &c.): possibly *a-ha-ti* (= *ahu* 'brother'?, § 33 *note*), *ad-din* 'I gave' (W 19), *a-na* 'to' (Y *passim*: A [i, 2], ii, 5: Al. 7, &c.), *be-el AN-lim* 'lord of the gods' (Y *r.* 37, 40), *-ia* 'my' (G 11, K 3, Y *r.* 42, &c.), *i-ia-ši* 'to me' (Z i, 2): *i-id-din-wa* 'he gave' (Y 21), *it-ti-in-nu-ta* (G 15), *i-na* 'in' (G 1, 6, &c., Y *r.* 30, Z i, 1, 8), *-ka* 'thy' (Y 2, 7), *ki-i* 'that(?)' (Y 16, &c.), *hal-za-iš* (&c.) 'fortress(?)' (Y 38, &c.), *ma-da-at-aš* 'tribute(?)' (D *r.* 14), *pa-ni* 'before', lit. 'face'[1] (Al. *r.* 4: Y *r.* 36, 40: *a-na pa-ni* H 7, W 19), *ša-li-im* 'peace' (Z 2), *šu-lum* 'peace' (Al. 10). Hence it is not surprising to find in the hieroglyphs 𐎗 = *pan* 'face', and perhaps *a-b(a)-u-t(a)* 'thy father' (M ii, 1), *a-hu* (?) 'brother' (§ 33 *note*), with the phonetic complement *hi* indicated after the ideogram for 'brother' (§ 73), and possibly the Aramaic *bar* 'son' in 𐎗 *bar* (§ 73).

The Alphabet.

§ 90. Up to the present this decipherment shows *a*, *b(p)*, *t*, *e*, *g(k)*, *h*, *i, l, m(w), n, r, s, t, u, z* as the alphabet in use: the Hittite cuneiform shows in addition *g* (distinct from *k*), *d, p, k* (rarely), *š*, rarely *s*. *N* appears to be sometimes assimilated when preceding *s* or *z*. The question of *š* or *s* is a difficult one, but this much can be said that the nominative of the tablets from Boghaz Keui is represented by the cuneiform *š* (*ᵐMur-ši-li-iš*, &c.), while in the eighth century we find it in *s* (*Pi-si-ri-is*, W.A.I. iii, 9, 51). At the same time *Sa-an-ga-ra* is repre-

---

[1] ŠI (= *pa-an*) is used thus apparently, in D 18, E 15, O 2.

sented by the Hittite hieroglyphics *San-gar-s*, where the *san* is the same character as that for the root meaning 'to make', Skr. *ján*, Z. *zan*, and yet the Skr. nom. is marked by *s*. Hence it seems probable that about the middle of the second millenium B.C. the Hittites distinguished between *s* and *š*; whether they did in the ninth century is a difficult question which is suggested by *Pi-si-ri-is*, but the evidence is not sufficient for us to decide. At the same time the possibility even in the earlier period of *ša-an* varying with *sa-an* in the cuneiform is suggested in § 52, where also a possible variant *š-an* for *san* in the hieroglyphs is given. As, however, *san* is the only hieroglyphic word I have as yet found doubtful in its sibilant, I have not made any distinction, using *s* as the symbol for the nominative termination, &c.

B apparently varies with *p* in hieroglyphs, as is discussed in the notes to the translation of M ix at end.

§ 91. The hieroglyphs show the following:—

Animals: Ibex, bull, ram, horse or ass, calf or dog. The camel rarely, if ever, represented.

Birds: Only one kind, apparently an eagle.

Vegetables: Two or three kinds of leaves, flowers, or grasses; a tree.

Dwellings: Ground plan of a house: the tent is a possibility in the form of a wigwam.

Implements: Firestick (?), knife, graving tool, vessels of pottery, cord, quiver, tablet (?), altar (?), table, grave-shaft (?), coffin (?), waterskin (?).

Parts of the body: Full figure, upper part of body, male head, face, hand, foot, leg, uterus (?), penis (?).

Parts of animals: Horns.

Natural objects: Lightning (compare the Hittite idea with the three-pronged thunderbolt in the hand of Hadad), fire, water, mountains.

Clothes: High cap.

Labour: A scribe is represented by a seated figure holding a graving tool: a hand holding a graving tool.

Numerals: I, III, IV, IX by separate strokes; 10 and 100 apparently by especial symbols.

From the above it may be inferred that the originators of the system of Hittite hieroglyphs were a pastoral people keeping cattle and sheep, living in mountains where the rain or cold compelled them to live in houses or steep-sided tents, where among the fauna were counted ibexes and eagles; their draught beasts were horses or asses, not the camel, which is practically useless in highlands; they used a decimal system of counting; possibly the firestick— if my suggestion is right—indicates a terrain without flints. For weapons they

had bows (?) and arrows (?), and knives probably of bronze; they were adepts in making pottery. Apparently they buried in coffins in shafts or artificial caves; one of the pots drawn is much like the shape of those used in early burials at Carchemish.

The use of these pictures is similar to that of most picture-writings; by metathesis, e.g. the name for the ibex *as* is used for the syllabic value *as*. But the ideographic value was sometimes retained, either in the original sense or in some transferred allied meaning; e.g. a tree would indicate 'wood', but a hand outstretched 'an ally', or a foot 'to go'. There were two ways of indicating an ideogram: one by ᴑᴄ placed before and after, as ᴑᴄ ⬅︎ ᴑᴄ 'an ally', the other by ��orc¹ placed after, as ⬅︎. These indications are not indispensable: and the latter cannot be said to mark a plural in the face of TA 4, 'we are one speech'.

As in Egyptian, phonetic complements were used. 🌿 *nin* may be used by itself or with the addition of 𝄁 *n*; ▢▢▢ *san* is similar in its apparently arbitrary complement 𝄁 *n*; Sangar's name may be written ▢▢▢ 𝄁 ◊ ⬳ ◗ *San(n)-g(gar)-s* or simply *San-gar-s*. As in Egyptian also, we find the hieroglyphs arranged to present a symmetrical appearance at the cost of their more exact order, particularly when the phrase is well known. This latter method gives us a reason for the usually inverted order of the name Mu-tal, and possibly $b(a)-a = a-b(a)$ in the common phrase 'Make alliance with us'; and if a common group ('god' + *gu* + 'bird') is equivalent to Targu, as I have tried to show in § 11, it is reasonable also to explain this in a similar way, the bird then having the value *tar*.

It is surprising that determinatives, as understood in Egyptian, should be so little used, and it is striking to see how effectively the Hittites dispensed with them. As far as I know there are only (1) the god-sign placed before god-names, and frequently omitted if the god's name forms a component of a personal name: (2) the sign for city or country, used after place-names, which is frequently omitted, as in *K-as-k* (§ 35), *U-'m-k* (§ 52 (5)), *K-a-u-a-u-t* (§ 60), *Kat-n-a-u-t* (§ 60), and even *Gu-gu-'m* (= Gurgum) on a seal (§ 31): (3) the stroke (written usually diagonally) indicating a personal name following, which may be omitted at pleasure: and similar to this the 'tang' marking place or personal names (§ 17).

§ 92. It will have been remarked throughout this article that no trace of the native name 'Hittite', 'Ḥatti', 'Ḥeta', has been discovered: moreover, the translations of all the North Syrian Hittite hieroglyphs which comprise the greater part of our texts and are herein given, reveal no indication of such a word. Here is a problem which we must set ourselves to solve.

---

¹ Unless this has a syllabic value: see sign-list, No. 8.

From Winckler's texts there seems good reason to think that in the fourteenth century Boghaz Keui was called *alu Ḥa-at-ti* (Winckler, *Orient. Lit. Zeit.*, Dec.. 1906, Sonderabzug, 15: L. W. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, i, 148): and the king of the Hittites *šarru rabû šar* ^mātu alu *Ḥat-ti* (W 27). We may therefore expect the word Ḥatti to be found in the texts of Central Asia Minor if anywhere, which include those of Boghaz Keui, Fraktin, and Kara Dagh (Rams.).

Fraktin (M xxx, see translations at end) shows two kings, one possibly Mautenre, as the Egyptians called Mutallu, making offerings to gods, and in a single line to the right an inscription which reads 'ally'-*m-zi*-'country' 'ally'-*e ar-mi*. This shows that our sign for 'ally' is used phonetically: and hence we must read tentatively, 'I have joined alliance with(in) ?-*m*-country.' Are we to see a value *ḥat* for this 'ally'-sign, reading, *Ḥat-w*-country?

Similarly in Rams. 6, after the king's name, are we to see the 'hand-sign' followed by 'country', the whole group being thus *Ḥat*-country?

An examination of the later texts will show that this hand-sign certainly has a syllabic value:—

> (*a*) *ID-r-s*, M ix, 2–3: 'X, Y, and Z as an ally (allies) have accepted [with thee]: I will act with thee, I will make sonship with thee: *ID-r-s u-b(a)-r-a-t(a) nis*(?)-*zi mi-t: mi* (= ? they take thee for a son with me).'
>
> (*b*) *ID-r-a*, M vi, 3: *te*(?)*ID*(?)-*r-a* 'god'-*Tesup-mu*.
>
> (*c*) *ID-r*, M xxxiii, 12: *a-b(a)-ir* ?-*e-ni li-n-s-t(a) ID-r* 'god'-*Tesup-mi-s*.
>
> (*d*) *ID-ir-u*, M xxxiii, 11.
>
> (*e*) *ID-ir-e*, M xxxiii, 3: 'I have commanded *b(a)-ir-t(a) ID-ir-e-mi : e-a-t(a)*), &c. (i.e. that my *ID-ir-e* bring it).

Hence there appears to be a word which, on our assumption of a value *ḥat*, would read *ḥat-r-s*, *ḥat-r-a*, *ḥat-r*, *ḥat-ir-u*, *ḥat-ir-e* (plural).

Hittite cuneiform shows a word *ḥatra*:—

A i (17) (paragraph) *a-ni-ia-at-ta-aš ma-mu ku-e ṭa-aš ḥa-at-ra-a-*eš* (18) *ub-bi wa-ra-at-mu ne-it-ta up-pa-aḥ-ḥi EGIR-an-ṭa* (19) *na-aš-ta* ^am*ḥa-lu-ga-tal-la-at-ti-in am-me-el-la* (20) ^am*ḥa-lu-ga-tal-la-an EGIR-pa ḥat-ra-a ḥu-u-da-a-ak* (21) *na-i na-at u-wa-an-du*.

A ii (10) (paragraph) *nu-mu* ^m*Lab-ba-ia-an EGIR-pa ḥat-ra-a* (11) [*i*]*š-t*[*u*] *amel aš-šu-mi-ia li-li-wa*-[*a*]*ḥ-ḥu-u-an-zi* (12) *na-i biš-un-na-mu me-mi-an ab-bi-az* (13) *EGIR-pa ḥa-at-ra-a-i*.

A ii (21) (two paragraphs) *z*[*i*]*-ik*-[*m*]*u eš-šar-aš aš*-[*š*]*u-u-li* (22) *ḥa-at-ra*-[*a*]*-i nam-ma-za* [*t*]*ag*^an *EGIR*^an (23) *i-i*[*a*] | (24) *Ab-zun ku-e u-ṭa-an-zi* (25) *nu ne-e*[*š-r*]*a-ni b*[*u*]*-ka ḥa-at-ri-eš-ki*.

[*Pa-ra-a* in Y *r.* 38, *LAH A.N'-lim ḥa-at-ki* (or *di*) *na-aš-ta pa-ra-a* . .: P 16 . . . *na-ta pa-ra-a*: B 2 . . . *LUGAL-i pa-ra-a* . . . *si-ib*, appears to be more probable than *ḥat-ra-a*, on account of the well-known root *pa* (§ 48).]

I admit I cannot suggest anything better than 'other' which has already been suggested. 'Messenger', which is to be expected in M xxxiii, 3 for *ḥat-ir-e*, is already accounted for by the word *amḥaḥugatalla*: and *ḥat-r-s*, in M ix, 3, is a difficulty. What can be said is that, leaving the question of the meaning, there seems to be some probability for the existence of *ḥatra* both in hieroglyphs and cuneiform, on the assumption that the hand-sign is *ḥat*, it being possible that the Fraktin and Kara Dagh inscriptions spell out the name Ḥatti as *Ḥat-w-* 'country' and *Ḥat-*'country'.

Out of this arises another problem: supposing that we have identified the word *Ḥatti* in the hieroglyphic texts of the proper Hittite district, how is it that we have found no indication of such a place-name in the later ninth-century North Syrian texts which are far more numerous, especially when the Assyrian cuneiform still constantly uses the expression *Ḥatti*?

I can only offer a tentative suggestion that the name was not used by the 'Hittite' allies in the ninth century: but that they called themselves or were known as 'the allies' which (on our assumption that the 'ally' ('hand')-sign has the value *ḥat*) would be pronounced by the Hittites as '*ḥat-e*': and that the Assyrians (and Hebrews) borrowed this as a vague term for the Hittite coalitions, under the impression that it meant their country; or possibly, by coincidence, since the Egyptians had met the Ḥeta in Northern Syria, the word *ḥat-e* 'allies' assumed the position which the old gentilic Ḥeta had aforetime held in this land.

TRANSLATIONS

I append the following suggestions for translations to the greater part of the texts published in Messerschmidt's *Corpus*. Naturally much is tentative, and the copies of the inscriptions themselves still lack much in accuracy. I have begun with the inscriptions of the king whom I have identified with Benhadad.

(A) THE BENHADAD (?) INSCRIPTIONS.

M xxi, *the lion from Mar'ash*. The inscription is from Benhadad to Mutallu, the king of Gurgum (Markasi), and incidentally to Arammi (of Bit-Agûsi), probably the one who is known as the ' Chief of Kaški ' (M xi, 4), Bauli, Nist, and Bâmi, mentioning ancient alliances and inviting them to continue in this friendship. As is usual in such .cases, he mentions the names of other Hittite chiefs who are prepared to join him. Date, second quarter of ninth century, probably a little later than M lii, which mentions Ḳaral, while M xxi only speaks of 'Pan-mi' (= Panammi ?). I have collated the text as well as I can from the cast in the British Museum.

(1) *Te*(?)-*a-san*(*n*) ″*Tesup-id*(?)-*r* 'brother'-*k-n-ni-s* : ″*Mu-tal*;-*a-ḫ-as* : ″*Gu-gu-'m*
    Saith   Benhadad   unto his brother Mutallu, the great, of Gurgum,

-*a-ḫ-n-as*-'place'   'lord'-*k-n-s*   ″*Ar-am-mi*   *nin*(*n*)-*s* : ″?-*ni-li-*(*n*)*nis*
    the great :   (also) unto his lord   Arammi,   the son of   ?-nili

: 'ally':-[*ḫ*] *b*(*a*)-*a mi-nis* ″*Tesup-id*(?)-*r*   'brother'-*k-ni nin-as*
' Make alliance with us.' Benhadad   unto the son of his brother

(2) [*Mu*(?)-*tal*(?)]-*li-s*   : 'ally': 'ancestors'-*am nin*   *Nis-t B*(*a*)-*a-u-li nin-as*
    Mutallu (?), the son of the ally of my(?) ancestors,   Nist, the son of Bauli:

   ; ″*Mi-*?; *Mu*(?)-?-*li-s* : 'ally':-*e* 'ancestors'-*am*   ?-*man*(?) *ar-nis*
  Mi-? (brother ?) (of) Mu(?)-?-li (?), the allies of my (?) ancestors, ? , ' Join us.'

   ″*Tesup-id*(?)-*r*   'ally'-*k-ni nin-as* : ″*Mu-tal*;-*a-ḫ-nis*
  (Saith) Benhadad unto the son of his ally Mutallu the great,

(3) : 'ally':-*n*(*a*)-*a-s* ″*B*(*a*)-*a-mi nin*   ?-*li-Tesup* : 'ally':-*n*(*a*)-*a nis-n*(*a*)-*a* ″*Ar-am-mi*
    our ally   Bâmi, the son of ?-li-Tesup (?) our ally, our son, Arammi,

nin(*n*)-*nis*   ″?-*li-s*   : 'ally':-*e ar-nis* (or *t*(*a*)-*nis*)
the son   of ... li,   ' Join us as allies' (*or* 'give us hands in alliance ').

'god'-*n*(*a*)-*k*   "*Pan-mi san-nas*   *Bar*(?)-*k-u*   :'ally':-*h*-...
Like (By?) our god, Panammi(?) the king (and) Bark [have?] made alliance

-*nis*   'ally'(?)-*e-k*
[with] us, like allies (?)

(4) ?-*san-as*   'lord'-*k-nis*   "*Pan-mi san-s* : *Gar-b*(*a*)-*ni*
    ?   (Saith Benhadad) unto his lord Panammi(?) the king, Garbani,

san-nas: 'god'(?) *gu-b*(*a*)(?)-*s-n*(?) ?-*a-k-nis* : ? ;*am li nis*   *san-n*
the king,   ...(name): unto his [Nine?] ?, '[Sonship?] we will make':

'lord'-*k-nis* : *A-b*(*a*) : *te*(?)-*san*(*n*)-*m* : *ID-k-m*   'god'-*h-m-n*   "*Pan-mi-u*
unto his lord Aba(?), 'I promise I will fight.' By my great god, Panammi(?)

a-b(*a*)-*u* : *te*(?)-*san* :ally':-*k-n* : *ID-n*   *nas-k-n-mu* (or, *ID*-(*n*)*nas mu-k-n*)
with them spoke for alliance, 'A throne for my sons (*or*, our throne for me)

h-n   *nas*   ?-*a-u* : *t*(*a*)-*a* : 'ally';-*I-u-n*(*a*)
we will make,' (and) the sons of the Nine(?) [said?], 'Our only ally

u-t (or *t-u* ?)   *h*; (*n*)*nas*
are ye' (*or* for our common alliance have spoken). The chiefs of the sons

(5)   ?-*a-e* : *h*;   "*M*(?)-*am-am*-?-*a*
  of the Nine(?), the chiefs   M(?)-am-am- ?-a (*or* M(?)-am of Am-?-a)

Gar-b(*a*)-? *Mu-e* 'god'-*Tesup-u-nis-k-n*   'god'-*n-ni* *s-k-e*   "-?-*ni-k*
Garba ...(?), ... unto our god Tesup, our god, are ...-ing(?) ?-nik (a chief)

             : *a-b*(*a*)-*u* : ?   *nin-nis* 'brother'-*k-n-nis* : *N-* ? *nin e n*
(*or*, ?(a chief) like us) with them a feast(?) ...: unto our brother   ... ...

'god' 'brother'-*k-ni*-(*n*)*nis* : "*Mu-tal; a-n*(*a*)-*mi u-t:a-b*(*a*) : *Mu-tal; a-n*(*a*) .. . :.
Unto the god of our brother Mutallu I... you : with   Mutallu ...

    'ally'-*e ar-ni-u* (or, 'ally'-*e-ni ar-u*) ...: *mi* ...
as allies we are joining them (*or*, our allies are joining) ...

(6) ... *nie* : *t*(*a*)-[*a*] *k*; [*ID*?]-*k-nu* : *kat-u* : *a-b*(*a*).. *Gar*-?-*e* 'ally' ... "⁽ʳ⁾*gu n ar ar*:
   ... ... to go against [a foe(?)]: they with ... ...

an (? or 'ally')-*u* : *n* ... *nin-r a-b*(*a*)-*n* 'god' 'ally'-*k-ni-nis* ; *kat-a-mi* : *ID-m-mu* :
  they have set (?)... with us: unto the god of our ally I myself am ...

'ally'-?-*s-u* : *a-u*
alliance ... , who

(7) : *te*(?)-*san-m* : *ID-k-m*
   promise I will fight.

Notes. l. 1. On l. 1, see §§ 17, 30, 33 ff., 50. On 'brother', § 38: on Gurgum, § 29: Mutallu, § 31: Arammi, either the king of Urarṭa or Bit-Agùsi, § 30. The character in the unknown name following might be the hare's ears: possibly the *-ni* might belong to *nin-n-(ni)-s*, and we might see an inverted *lal* in this character, reading Lal-li, but it is hardly to be considered. For the syntax at end of line, see § 66.

l. 2. On 'ancestors', § 50: Nist, § 49: Bauli, § 41, *note*: the name following might begin *"W-mi . . .*: see notes to translation of M vi, p. 115. The character after 'ally' may be *n* or *c*.

Ar-nis. A verb is necessary here, parallel to 'make alliance with us' in the previous phrase. A similar phrase occurs in M lii, 4 ('Saith Benhadad unto his ally Niste, the son of Bauli, make alliance with us: Bâmi, son of the ally of [our] ancestors') *kat-nis ar.* If it is an imperative form (parallel to *t(a)* of M i, *san* of M x, 1), we can see in *nis* and *kat-nis* the oblique case of *-n*, *kat-n* 'we' (similar to that in the form *minis* from *mini* 'we') and probably a by-form of *-nas* (§ 58), and translate the whole 'join us'. The finite verb occurs in M vii, 2— : 'ally': *ar-mi* 'I have joined the alliance': the same phrase is used in TA 5 (see § 68), M xxiii, c, and probably TA 4. TA 7 gives '(in) our covenant with thee at my feast *ar-mi* I join'. Perhaps we should see it in M ix, 4 ?-*a ar-e Kat-n-a-u-t*, &c., '. . . the Ḳatnai are joining . . .' (see translation p. 117). (I admit that the sense has been suggested by the Indoger. *ar.*)

Are we to see the root of *ar* in *ir-r-a-t(a)* (M ix, 3 'will join thee'); *ir-r-a-u-t* 'they (?) will join you' (M xv, B, 3); and perhaps an imperative *r-r* (? M viii, A, 2, 'So-and-so; *te*(?) *r-r a-b(a)-u* hath said, Join (?) with them,' doubtful), and *r-r-u-t* in a new Jerabis inscription? Cf. also 'Benhadad (and) Tesup-k : *r-n-zi-t(a) : ID-n :* share (?) for thee the head' (M ii, 4), : *r-n-zi-t(a)* occurs also on a new Jerabis inscription where it might well have this sense. It is remarkable to see that *r* can apparently be doubled; cf. the forms of the proper name *Targu-r-r-s* (genitive, M i) and *Targu-r-s* (nominative, ix, xi). This is certain from a comparison of M i, and a new Jerabis inscription, which show *Targu-r-r-s* and *Targu-r-e* in juxtaposition to the name 'god'-*Sul*(?)-*e-s* and 'god'-*Sul*(?)-*e-ni* respectively. Compare also *r-u*, M ii, 6.

In addition to these words beginning with *r*, we also find a series, *r-s-mi*, *r-s-mu*, *r-s-t(a)* (to be placed here ?), *r-s-zi*. *r-s-mi* and *r-s-mu* are used with *n-m-n* 'covenant' as an object (§ 68: M liii): *r-s-mi* occurs on a seal (M xlii, 1): *r-s-t(a)* is doubtful (§ 69); *r-s-zi* is used in § 83, 'will join (?) thee', and once more on a new Jerabis inscription, and possibly in TA 3. The meaning which fits the word is again 'join', but we cannot suppose that *r* and *r-s* both represent roots meaning 'to join': either there must be some difference of meaning, or a different voice might possibly be indicated. Again, where are we to place *a-u* . . . (name) *r-n-t(a)* (§ 83)?

Another word beginning with *r* is *r-nin(n)-t(a)* which appears to be from the root *r-n*, 1st pers. plur. with suffix *t(a)*. It occurs on TA 4, 5, 8 always followed by 'Make alliance with us'. I can only suggest some such meaning as 'ask, request'.

There are only about half a dozen words which I have been able to find beginning with *r* in Hittite cuneiform, and none of them are of any help here: possibly *ir-ri-iš-ša-[an]* D *r.* 10, and *ar-nu-an-zi* G 8, 10, &c., might conceal similar roots.

l. 3. Bâmi, also M lii, 4. Pan-mi san-s, § 56: Bark, § 41, *note*, § 73.

l. 4. With *Gar-b(a)-ni*, cf. the name Garbatas, the shield-bearer of the Hittite king in the war with Rameses II. On the possible abbreviation or synonym for 'the Nine', see § 64, *note*. The phrase about the throne which Panammi (?) uses is similar to one spoken by Ḳaral, his father, M lii, 5. *T(a)-a* ought to be the ordinary particle *ta* here, but some part of *t-e* 'to speak' would fit excellently.

M lii, *from Mar'ash.* The date is a little earlier than that of M xxi. Benhadad suggests alliance to Mutallu of Gurgum, and Bauli, urging that Aḥunu and others [are friendly] and that certain chiefs have joined against possible foes of Nks (the friend of Sangar). Nist and Bâmi, are also invited, it being claimed that Ḳaral (of Ia'di) and Katê (of Ḳauai) [are well disposed].

(1) *Te*(?)-*a-san*(*n*) *Tesup-id*(?)-*r* 'ally'-*k-n-ni-s* : *Mu-tal*; -*a*-[*h*]-*s* : "*Gu-gu-'m*
    Saith Benhadad unto his ally   Mutallu, the great, of Gurgum,

-*a-h-n-s*-'place' : 'lord'-*k-s*   *B*(*a*)-*a-u-li*[1] (*n*)*nin-as* : *Mu-tal*;-*a-h-nis*   : 'ally'-*h*
the great: unto his lord   Bauli the son of   Mutallu, the great: 'Make

b(*a*)-[*a*] *mi-n-s* .. *n* (or *t*(*a*)-*a*)   "*Hu-nu*   *A*(?)-[*t*(*a*)?]-*n*(*a*)-'place'   .. *n* .. (title ?)
    alliance with us'.   Ahunu   of A[di]ni(??), ...

U-li-n-e (title ?) *B*(*a*)-*r-k*   *nin-n an-n*(*a*)
Ulini (?),   Bark   we have set as our son (?):

(2) 'god'-*Tesup-mi-n*(*a*) : *r-k-n* : (title)? ; *B*(*a*)-*nin* : *h* ;   *n-as*   *IX-a-e* :
[To] Tesup-mis we have [sworn (?) that] -Banin (?), the chiefs, the sons of the Nine

t(*a*)-*a ID* : *N-ka A-nin-n*(*a*)-'place' : *nis-u* : 'ally' *ar-e*   *Lal*(?) *kat*(?)-?
against a foe of Nks of Adinnu (?), their son, are joining in alliance. [Lalli ?]

    "*Ar-hu-li-ni*[2] *mi-r-a* : *t-e*   :   ?;-*an*(?) *as e* :   "*Hu-nu ir*(?)-*r-a-u-t*(?)
in the presence of Arhulini (?) saith,   'Our (?) .... Ahunu will join (?) you (?)'

k;-*m*(?)-*mu k e* : *t*(*a*)-*a* (*II* ?) ; *ar a m a mi* ? ..
I will go ..   to   . .....

(3) : *mi-t*(*a*) ..   'ally'-*e ar-e* : *san-r-a*   'ally' *ID-I*(?)-*k-n*
    With [thee ?] they are joining as allies: they will make alliance against a

        m(?)-...-*e* :   *Gu-?-hu-r* : *s-u*   *k-a-ni-u* :
[common] foe. [The people(?) of] Gu-?-hur (?) have written (that) their friend

Kat(?)-*t-e* : *ID-k-n-s*   :   *mi-t*   *m*(?)-...-*e nis-e* : *nis-u* :   *a-san-ni ID* :
is Katê(?). Against his enemy with the [people?] their sons(?) we have accepted(?)

        Te (?) "*Tesup-id*(?)-*r* 'ally'-*k-ni-s* : *Nis-t-e*
as sons (?). Saith   Benhadad   unto his ally Nist

(4) "*B*(*a*)-*a-u-li nin*   : 'ally'-*h*   *b*(*a*)-*a mi-nis* "*B*(*a*)-*a-mi nin* : 'ally' 'ancestors'
    son of Bauli,   'Make alliance with us':   Bâmi   son   of the ally of

-?   *kat-nis ar* : *t*(*a*)-*a*   ?-?   *san* : *ID-k-n*(*a*)   *m*(?) .. -*e-n*(*a*)
[my ?] ancestors, 'Join us; against ?-?, the king, we will fight: our [people (?)]

      m(?)-...-*e-t*(*a*)(?)-*k*   *m*(?)-...-*e I*(?)-*k*   :   *Gar-a-li ni IX-a-e*
like thy (?) [people (?)], like one (?) [people (?)].'   Karal the son of the Nine,

: *a-u* : *N-ka*
who [with] Nks

(5) ... : 'ally' : *ar* : *a-ID*   ?-*k-n-n-m*   *k* ;   *r-k-m-t*(*a*) :
joineth alliance, hath [graven(written)?] for my ...: 'To come I [swear?] to thee(?)'

---

[1] Probably to be read thus.   [2] Doubtful: I have read the *s* as *hu*.

ID;-ḫi-e (or, *r-k-m t-e ID;-ḫi*) *ⁿKat-t-e ḫ* : 'ally' : *a-ḫ-mi* *r-k*(?)-*mi* : (title ?)-
    Accepting (?) Katê, the chief, alliance I have made. ...

B(a)-nin, *nin-n(a)* *n-m-n:-m-n* *e-[a?]* ... : *a-san(-n)* : *te*(?)-*san-n(a)*
Banin (?), our son, my covenant [with ?] ... hath made. We (?) have said (?)

? *Mu-tal*(?); *n-n(a)* ?-*r ID*(?) *Gar-[a-li?] ni IX*(?)-*a-e* : *t-e-r-a* .. : *k-a-[n ..]* :
    Mutallu (?) ... . Karal (?), son of the Nine (?) say ... friends

    a-san-u(?) : *san-n* : *ID-n-as-k-n-mu*
they (?) have made, we will make a throne for my sons (or variant as in M xxi, 4).

(6) Mutilated.

NOTES. 1. 1. *ⁿḪu-nu*, § 12 : on possible titles, § 73. The group at the end of the line is difficult, and might possibly be read 'ally'-*nin*(?)-*n-n(a)* 'our ally'.
    1. 2. Tesup-mina, § 87. For *r-k-n* see notes to translation of M ii. Aninna perhaps Adinnu, § 87 : the following phrase is difficult; perhaps read *A-nin-n(a)*-'place' :-*nis* : 'ally' *ar-u kat-e* of Adinnu, they are joining alliance with them (?) : cf. l. 4. Perhaps we might see the word *mu-e* as in M xxi, 5 near the end of the line.
    1. 3. The phrase *a-san-ni ID* is difficult, and possibly the reading of the hand-sign may not be correct : perhaps 'we have made alliance' is the sense. *nis-u* might mean 'their son', but the sense is difficult.
    1. 4. *Kat-nis* looks like a form of *kat-n-s* 'us', the equivalent in M xxi, 2 being *ar-nis* 'join us'. Cf. l. 2, perhaps, *ar-u kat-e*, *kat-e* being some case of *kat-u*? Karal, § 11.
    1. 5. After *ⁿKat-t-e ḫ* less probably read :'ally' :-*a-ḫ mi-r-a*(?)-*mi*, i.e. 'Katê hath made alliance : before me,' &c. Cf. the phrase in M xxi, 4 'our throne for me'; but the words might be divided differently. For 'a throne for my sons' we should expect *ID n-as-k-n-m(u)*.

    M xxii, *from Marʾash.* A sculpture of an alliance feast, two kings (one of whom is Tesup-k) facing each other at a table laid with flat bread.

Right side : *Te*(?)-*san Tesup-k a-ḫu*(?)-*k-nis* ...
    Saith Tesup-k unto his brother (?)...

Left side : ... *Mu-tal*(??)-*n(a)* : *m*(or *kat*)-*m n* .. *m*(?)-*a-*? *Pan-mi s*(?)-*n(a)*(?) *a-b(a)-n*
    i.e. Mutallu (??) ... Panammi (?) the king (?) with them.

    M xxiii, A, *a broken statue from Marʾash.*

(1) ... *[n-m]-ni-e Tesup-[r]-nis a-b(a) ? .. a-b(a) .. ; ... n ...*
    ... covenants of Tesup-ras (?) with ... ...

(2) *Aḫu*(??)-*n-nis n-m-ni-e* : *a-t(a)-ir ?-?-li k-a-n(a) ?;? IX*(?)-*a-e*
    Ahuni (??) covenants hath given : ?-?-li (is) our friend : ? ? of the Nine

ⁿIr-r-a a-ar a(?)-*tal-li* : *ḫi*(?);-*e*
Irra hath joined (?) ?

(3) *Ir-ḫu*(?)-*li-ni-r*   *a-t̬(a)ir*   "............ : ..[.*te*?]-*r-a*   *ID*...   *kat-s*
    to (?) Irhulîna(?) hath given   ...   have [said ?] ' A tablet ... he

t-e(?)   ' ally (?)' *; ar-*
saith (?)   we will join

(4) *n(a)*   ? *u* ... *k* .. *k* .. *b(a) r a* ' god '
    alliance' ... ...

NOTES. l. 1. On Tesup-[ra ?]-nis, see M xi, 3 and notes to Hittite seals further on.

M xxiii, c. Copy too bad to translate, but see Sayce, *PSBA.*, xxv, 1903, 284. xxiv, A contains the group in M ii, 6. B contains the name of Gurgum. M xxv, a stela beginning ' Saith Ar(?)-mi ' (Arame ?) mentions Gurgum in the third line.

M ii. A stela sculptured with representation of the god Hadad (Tesup), and inscribed with seven lines of inscription, which describes how the stela was made by various kings, among them Benhadad, and presented to Mutallu, king of Gurgum. Period, middle of ninth century. Found at Babylon, whither it had probably been carried as a trophy.

(1) *:Te*(?)-*a-san(n)*   *"T(a)-?-ar-s* : *Mu-tal,-a-ḫ-s* : *bar*(?)-*k-n-s*
    Saith   Ṭa?aras unto his son (?) (*or*, lord ?) Mutallu, the great,

a-b(a)-u-t(a)   *Tesup-id*(?)-*r-a-ḫ-s*
' Thy father (?) and Benhadad, the great,

(2)   ' god '-*Tesup-s : kar-k-n*   :   *m-ni-u*   *a-t̬(a)-t̬(a)*
for the commemoration (?, glory (?)) of Tesup   their   memorial-stela have

    san-n-zi t(a)-k-n   *am*(?)-*zi*   :   *kar san-n-zi*
given thee. They made a feast (? ?), they (?) ..., they made a commemoration (?),

    : ' ally ' : *-ḫ-n-zi ?-zi nin-zi*
they made alliance ... as a son (?)

(3) ' ally '-*e-ni*   :   *?-am mi-r-a-t̬(a)*   *m-t-mi : u-ḫ-am-mi : Am-[r]-a-s* : *ID;-*
    our allies {... in thy presence, *or* / Pan(?)-am-mi thy *r-a*} with me hath ... me.   Amras   the ...

nin : ' country (?)',*-s* : *Am-r-a-s* : *ID;-nin(n)* : ' country (?)' *,-s* : *Am-r-*
... of his country (?),   Amras   the wood   of his country (?),   Amr-

(4) *-a-s : ID;-nin(n) :* ' country (?)',*-s*   *m-t-mi*   *m-n-u-k-n-an*   *a-t̬(a)-t*
    -as   the stone of his country (?) with (unto) me for our memorial-stela gave.

Tesup-id(?)*-r-a-ḥ* 'god'-*Tesup-k*   ∴   *r-n-zi-t*(*a*)   ∴   *ID-n* ∴ 'ally'-*e-ni* ∴
Benhadad (and) Tesup-k   have [shared (?) for] thee   the head (?), our allies

'engrave'-*r-a m-n-u-s*
have engraved

(5) : 'leg (?)'-*n* ∴ *ID* ;   *te*(?)-*mi* ∴ *r-n-mi-n*   ∴   *Am-r-a-*
[the leg (?, base ?)] of the memorial-stela ... [I have told my share ?]   Amras

  'engrave'   *k-n-li-s* (or *k-li-n-s*) ∴ ?-*ka ḥ-s-t*(*a*)   ∴   *Am-r-a-s* ∴ *t-e*   *k-n-li-s* (or
hath engraved   ?   thou shalt make (?) Amras hath said   ?

k-li-n-s) ∴ ?-*ka ḥ-s-t*(*a*)   *mi-r-*
thou shalt make (?)   Before

(6) *a-u* ∴ *ID; a-ḥ-mi* ∴ *ID;-? mi-t*   ∴   *Aḥu*(??)-*nis-ḥ-k-n* ∴ *mi-r-a-an*
them [the shrine ?] I made   ?-? (a chief) with Aḥuni (??) the chief   in our

  ∴   *t-e* ∴ *ID-n*   ∴   *r*(?)-*k-r t*(*a*)-*a* .. *Tesup-id*(?)-*r-a-ḥ-s* 'god'-*Tesup-s* ∴
presence said ["We (? will)] ... a ... that   Benhadad the great may join (?) thy

ID-t(*a*) ∴ *r-u*   ∴   *kat-s* ∴ 'ally'-*ni-n*
inscription(?) of Tesup." He unto our allies

(7) *t-e* ∴ 'tablet (?)'-? *ir-zi*
said "The tablet (?) ..."'

NOTES. The figure of Hadad is noticeable because it carries the triple thunderbolt as in Assyria, but the Hittite hieroglyph for Hadad, probably the lightning flash, drawn in a zigzag, much as it is conventionally represented by ourselves (see footnote to § 1), is probably not Semitic in conception.

l. 1. I cannot identify *T*(*a*)-?-*ar-s*: it seems clear that the last character but one is *ar* and not *t*(*a*) (cf. the sign for *t*(*a*) in l. 2), and the first character is certainly distinct from the *ar*. Mutallu, § 31 : the position of the words 'unto his son (?)' is difficult, as they usually precede the proper name to which they relate: *bar* (?), perhaps Aramaic 'son' (?), § 89. but possibly Professor Sayce's suggestion 'chief' is right: nevertheless *a-b*(*a*)-*u-t*(*a*) seems to mean 'thy father' rather than 'with you', especially as the verbs in l. 2 are in the plural. Tesup-id(?)-r, § 33, *note*.

l. 2. *Kar*, as is mentioned in § 88, might be referred to an Indog. *kar-* 'praise', 'mention'. It occurs twice in this line, and again in M ix, 5 'a great tablet (?): *kar-ni* (or *kar-u-ni*) (*u*)*ir-r-a* ... of our commemoration they have joined' (?). On *m-ni-u*, *m-n-u*, see § 88: are we to see in the -*i-u* the distinction '*their* memorial'? *T*(*a*)-*k-n*, cf. TA. 4 *san-r-a t*(*a*)-*k-n*(*a*) 'they have made [a feast ?]': or should the words be divided *san-n-zi t-am*(?) *k-n-zi* 'they made ..., they came'? *Nin-zi*, note to M ix, 4.

l. 3. 'Ally'-*e-ni* 'our allies', § 67, *note*. The fifth sign is doubtful, and gives cause to alternative translations. Amras may very probably be the same name as Amris (Ambaris), the king of Tabal in the time of Sargon, who was the son of that Ḥulli who was set on the throne of Uassurme by Tiglath-Pileser. If this be so, then our Amras was probably king of Tabal also, an ancestor of these, and since Lalli was king of Tabal at least between 854 and 837, we must count Amras, who was a contemporary of Benhadad, as the predecessor and perhaps father of Lalli. Noticeable is it on M xvi that Benhadad and three other kings invite (apparently) Lalli to alliance, calling him 'son of the ally of our fathers'. Amras provides the stone of his country for the stela, which is actually

of dolerite. Professor Sayce suggested 'stone', 'wood', 'brick' for the ideographs in this passage, and doubtless he was partly right. I am doubtful about my reading 'country', for the sign has taken a curious form, if correctly drawn.

l. 4. *M-n-u-k-n-an*, i.e. *mnu-kan-an*, § 33, *note*. *R-n-zi*, 3rd plur. impf. of √*r*, see note to *ar-nis* translation of M xxi, l. 2.

l. 5. *r-n-mi-n*, i.e. *rn-min* (?), accus. of a noun from the root *r* as in preceding note?

l. 6. *A-ḥ-mi*, also Restan 2, and perhaps M lii, 5, 1st sing. perf. from √*ḥ* ('great'). In the name *Aḥu*(?)*-nis* I have doubtfully suggested that the Hittites read their sign for 'brother' as *aḥu* (as in Assyrian, and as is apparently suggested by the causative formation, § 73 (*a*)). But the proper form in Hittite for the name Aḥuni, the chief of Bit-Adini is apparently Ḥunu, Ḥuni (M lii, 1, *note*); and yet possibly a similar form to *Ahu*(?)*-nis* occurs on M xxiii, A 2 (q.v.) as *Aḥu*(?)*-u-nis*. *R-k-r*, apparently √*rk*+*r* (impf.). The root *rk* occurs possibly in *r-k-r*, M xi, 5; in *r-k-n*, M lii, 2 (. . title (?) *B-r-k nin-n an-n*(*a*), *Tesup-mi-n*(*a*) *r-k-n* ?-*B*(*a*)*-nin*, &c. . . . 'Bark, we are adopting as our son : Tesupmina we *rk*(?), Banin,' &c.) : similarly *r-k-n-t*(*a*) 'we *rk* thee' (new Jerabis) ; *r-k-n*(*a*) in M viii, B, 4 (?) : *r-k-m-t*, M lii, 5, I can only suggest that it may be the impf. of the root from which *ar-k* 'to swear (?)' comes (§ 88, and the translations of Restan 2, and M v, vi). On *r-u* see note to *ar-nis*, translation of M xxi, l. 2.

M xvi, A, *the slab from Malatia* (*Milid*): sculptured with two men in a chariot hunting a lion with a dog : apparently imitated from the style of Aššur-naṣirpal. (See § 87.) Date, second quarter of the ninth century.

(1) *Mi-ni-a*   *Ir*(?)*-ḥu*(?)*-li-e-ni* (or, *Ir*(?)*-ḥu*(?)*-li-ni-s*)   *Tesup-id*(?)*-r*   *"?-s*   *"?-s*
    We   Irḥulina (?),   Benhadad,   ?-s,   ?-s

te(?)*-ḥi-u* (or *ir*)   *T*(*a*)*-bal-'*place'*-ma ni-ni*   : 'ally' : 'ancestors'*-ni* send a message to (*or* greet) the lord of Tabal, the son of the ally of our ancestors,

(2) *Lal*(?)*-li*(?)   'ally'*-n*(?)   : 'ally' :-[*k*] *b*(*a*)*-a mi-ni-s*(?)
    'O Lalli (?),   our (?) ally,   make alliance with us.'

Notes. l. 1. On the first part of l. 1, and the two parallel inscriptions (M xvi, C : Sayce, *PSBA.*, xxvi, 1904, 23), see §§ 18, 19 : the texts of these two latter give in a similar (incorrect ?) form the name which I have ventured to emend to Irḥulini (?), and the chiefs Gu-am (Giammu), Ar-am (Arame), and some names which I cannot read. Certainly the text in *PSBA.* is another suggestion for alliance. On
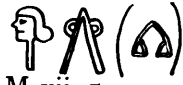
te(?)*ḥi* see § 73. I have suggested Tabal as the equivalent for (there is no question about this reading from a comparison of the photograph and the same place-name on a new Jerabis text) ; we know that the first character is *t*(*a*), the last character is the determinative for 'place', and Tabal is a well-known district in the region north-west of Assyria, near Malatia, in the cuneiform texts. If this is correct we must see Tabal as the region of which Malatia (Milid) was the capital. On the latter

half of l. 1, see § 50.   (?)[1] for which I have suggested *Lal*(?)*-li*(?), Lalli being king of Malatia at this period : the sign (*lal* ?, *la* ?) is not common, except on seals, where it occurs so frequently as to suggest that it has the ideographic value 'seal' (certainly on M xl, 14, 18 : xli, 2, 9 :

_____

[1] *li* is fairly plain on the photograph (*Recueil*, xvii, 25).

xlv, 6, 7: and perhaps on the 'Tarkondemos' Boss, M xlii, 9). This, however, may be only a coincidence: it occurs otherwise in a name ⬭ (M xxxii, 2, 4), and in M xxxv (Sayce's corrections) appears what must be a name ⬭, which also occurs (?) in M lii, 2, where we find ⬭. The character also occurs in M xii, 5.

Now in the event of ⬭ being the equivalent of 'seal', inscribed on the seals above the name of the owner, we should see *lal* in the cuneiform with such a meaning, but the few instances which I can find are by no means certain. (Al. *r.* 1) (so many) *GIŠ . ŠE ša-ar-ra-aš ina šum ab-bi GIŠ . UŠ IV 1* (? possibly *ma*)-*wa la-li-ia* ᵃˡᵘ*Da-bi-il*, &c.: (C i, 15) *Ma-a-an LUGAL-uš* ᵃˡᵘ*A-ri-in-na-az* ᵃˡᵘ*Ha-at-tu-ši-pa-iz-zi nu* ᵃᵐᵉˡ*GIŠ . PA la-li zir-ri-di-iš-ša-an ḫal-za-i-kiš*(?): cf. also the causative from *lil*: (A ii, 10) *nu-mu* ᵐ*Lab-ba-ia-an EGIR-pa ḫat-ra-a* [*i*]*š-t*[*u*] *amel aš-šu-mi-ia li-li-wa-*[*a*]*ḫ-ḫu-u-an-zi*, and (A i, 14) *nu-uš-ši li-il-ḫu-wa-i NI-an SAG.DU-ši*. The first mentions 'in the name of my father' followed by *lali-ia*: the last suggests 'sealing oil for her for her head'. But the whole matter is doubtful.

M xvi, B. An alliance-feast scene from near Malatia, with part of a hunting scene similar to the above. The inscription on the hunting scene begins *mi-* 'I am'...; the name over one of the kings feasting is *A-?-mi-s* (Arame ??).

(B) The Irḫulîna Inscriptions.

The Hamath inscriptions: date, middle of ninth century. M iii, B, *found at Hamath*: from Irḫulîna to 'the chiefs of the king', recording an alliance.

(1) *Te*(?)-*san*   *ḫu:-an san-s* ⁿ*Ir-ḫu-li-n*(*a*)-*s*   : 'ally' :-*ḫ mi-*[*n*]-*s*
      Saith Irḫulîna unto the chiefs of the king, 'Make alliance with us.'

[*Am-ṭa-a-ḫ-*' place' 'lord'-*t*(*a*)-*a*]
[To (?) the lord of Hamath, the great]

(2) [*te*(?)-*b*(*a*) (or *ir*) ?-*e*-?]   *mi-t* 'place' ;-*e-ḫ*   *nas-mi*   ⁿ?-*r-an-a-ḫ-s-*
     [?-*e*-? hath said   ] 'With the chief(?) of the lands I will...(?)   the
'place'   'place'-*ḫ-an-n-s*
town of ?-ran, the great, our great city.'

(3) *kat-mi*   *n-m-n-an*   'engrave'   *e-a Tesup-id*(?)-*r-a-ḫ m*-place (?)...
    I   our covenant am engraving with   Benhadad the great...

M iv, A, *found at Hamath*. Similar to the above, except the change of two names.

(1) *Te*(?)-*san*   *ḫu;-an san-s* ⁿ*Ir-ḫu-li-n*(*a*)-*s*   : 'ally' :-*ḫ mi-n-s*
      Saith Irḫulîna unto the chiefs of the king, 'Make alliance with us.'

Am-ta-a-ḫ-'place' 'lord'
To (?) the lord of Hamath the great

(2) *-t(a)-a te(?)-b(a)* (or *ir*)   ?-e-? *mi-t* 'place' *;-e-ḫ*   *nas-mi*   "*Ar*(?)-*man*(?)-
     ?-e-? hath said,   'With the chief(?) of the lands I will . . . (?)   the town of

a-ḫ-nas-e-a-'place'   'place'-*ḫ-an-nas*
Arman (?), the great, our great city.'

(3) *kat-mi*   *n-m-n-an*   'engrave'   *e-a*   *Tal*(?)-*ḫ*   *Am-s-*'place'
    I   our covenant am engraving with Tal(as ?)   the chief of Homs (?)

M iv, b, *found at Hamath.* Similar to the above, except the change of a name.

(1) *Te*(?)-*san*   *ḫu:-an san-s* "*Ir-ḫu-li-n(a)-s*   : 'ally' :-*ḫ mi-n-s*
     Saith   Irhulîna   unto   the   chiefs   of   the   king, 'Make alliance with us.'

       Am-t(a)-a-ḫ-'lord'
To (?) the lord of Hamath the great

(2) *-t(a)-a te* (?)-*b(a)* (or *ir*) ?-e-?   *mi-t* 'place' *;-e-ḫ*   *nas-mi*   *B(a)-s-ḫ-r-*
     ?-e-? hath said,   'With the chief(?) of the lands I will . . . (?) the town of

a-ḫ-nas-'place'   'place'-*ḫ-nas*   *kat-mi*   *n-m-n-an* . . .   . . .
Tel Bashar (?) the great, our great city.'   I   our covenant (am engraving
    with So-and-so).

Restan (Sayce, *PSBA.*, xxxi, 1909, 259). From Bar-?-s to Irhulîna, recording an alliance.

(1) *Te*(?)-*san*   "*Ir-ḫu-li-n(a) Bar-?-s*   [: 'ally' :-*ḫ*]   *b(a)-a*   *mi-n-s*   *Am-t(a)-a-ḫ-*
     Saith   Bar-?-s unto Irhulîna, 'Make alliance   with   us.'   With (?) the
'place' ' lord '-*t(a)-a*
lord of Hamath the great

(2)   *mi-n(a)*   *ID-san-n(a)*   *te*(?) ?-e-?   *mi-[r]-a*   *ID*
     we have accepted (?), we have signed (?).   ?-e-? hath said   ' Before the altar
a-ḫ-mi .   'god'-*r-e*   *ar-k-mi*   ?-?-*e-t(a)*
(which) I made by the god(s) I have sworn (?) thy pledges (?)'.

M vi, *from Hamath.* This begins in the same way as the Restan text, but the remainder is much mutilated. L. 2 has apparently the name *Kat-t-e,* and ends with *n-m-ni-e mi-r-a ḫ,-s-n(a)* 'god'-*r-e ar-k-ni* ?-e-? (3) *a-u* 'god'-*r-e ar-k-n-as Pan-am-mi e*(?)-*li*(?) ?-*mi* ?-*e-mi K-r-a-u-ḫ,* &c., 'covenants before his chief(s) by

the god(s) we swore: ?-e-?, who by the god(s) hath sworn to us (and) Panammi
... Kirrî, the chief,' &c. There is a possibility of Bark's name in l. 4: on
Li'urnu (?) see below. M vi is continued by M v:—

(1) ... 'god'-*r-e*   *ar-k Ir*(?)-*r-a* 'god' 'tablet'-*mi te*(?)-*san-mi ID-k-mi* ?-*e* ...
... by the gods Irra(?) hath sworn 'By my god X I promise I will fight.'...

(2) ... *an mi-e-a*   *ID-mi*   ?-*an*   'engrave' ⁿ*Li*(?)*;u-r-n-u*   *ir-?; ir* ?-*r*
... with me; I have signed (?) our... Li(?)'urnu hath engraved   ?   ?

(3) ... *u an e-a*   *ḫ*(?); *ka mi li na mi-t ḫ*(?); *ka nas* ? ?
with us (?)   '.. .. .. with .. . .

(4) ... *u* 'god'-*ḫ-n*   ⁿ*Nis-t nis*(?)-*u te*(?)-*r-a*   *te*(?)-*san-mi*   *ID-mi* ...
... by our great god, to Nist their son (?) they have said, 'I promise I will
sign (?)' ...

NOTES. It will be seen that these inscriptions are either to or from Irḫulina, who was ruler of
Hamath in the middle of the ninth century. The opening phrases present several problems,
notably the explanation of the preposition *ta*. As will be seen, in the first three the *b(a)-a* 'with' is
lacking before *minis*, but it is put in in the other two: and although we might assume the translation
of the first three to be 'Said Irḫulina to the chiefs of the king, " Make alliance with us, the lord of
Hamath the great,"' it is impossible in the other two texts, unless we consider that Irḫulina is again
the nominative which is contrary to the case-endings. I cannot do more than to leave the matter
doubtful: possibly M vii might throw some light on it, as the text actually runs : 'ally' :-*ḫ a mi-nis t(a)-a* ;
but the lost *b(a)* may be merely a scribal error. 'Against' (§ 80) would demand historical confirmation.

For *e ḫ nas mi*, cf. M xlvi, which begins *mi-a e-ḫ-nas-mi ID-k-m*, but it does not seem probable that
we should have a proper name in the Hamath text here. Moreover, a verb (?) *nasta* occurs in Hittite
cuneiform: *EGIR-an-ta na-aš-ta* ᵃᵐ*ḫa-lu-ga-tal-la-at-ti-in am-me-el-la* 'thereupon thou didst ... thy
messenger ...' (A i, 18).

The name of the town -*ran* should give the syllabic value for the first character, but I know of
none to fit, except Harran, which is not likely. The character may perhaps be seen in the chief's name
in M vii. The parallel places in the two similar inscriptions are Ar(?)-man(?) (=Aleppo ?) and Bashar,
which might be Tel-Bashar (see my article *PSBA.*, xxxiv, 1912, 70). In M iv, A, 3, Tal may perhaps
be compared with Talas of the Carchemish texts. In Restan 1 I cannot identify *Bar-?-s* (see § 73):
on *mi-n(a)* see § 75. The ideogram which I have translated 'altar' has something of the appearance
of certain large stones found near Hittite sites, with cavities hollowed in the surface, which might
perhaps have been altars. On *ar-k* see § 88: on 'pledges (?)', § 67.

Li(?);-u-r-n-u, which seems to have every indication of being a proper name, both from its syntactical
position and the tangs on two of the characters composing it, occurs again similarly in M vi, 4: and it
exactly coincides with the name Liburna, occurring also as Lubarna, a king of Patinai, in the cuneiform
inscriptions of Aššurnaṣirpal. A Lubarna occurs also as king of the Patinai in the later years of
Shalmaneser: and since the Patinai are included in the Hittite coalitions of his earlier campaigns, we
may at once consider that there is some evidence for regarding the Hittite Li(?);-urnu as the same as
the Liburna of the cuneiform. *Li*(?) backwards appears to call attention to the proper name.

In this case we come to the interesting equation for the sign which I have represented as ';'
throughout this article, that ';'=the Assyrian *b*, or quite probably something like a digamma or *w*.
An examination of its occurrence in the grammatical phrases of the hieroglyphs shows how probable
this is:—

(1) The probable equivalence of *gu;-a* (M 1) [and *gu*(?)*;-e-u,* M vii, 2 ?] with *gu-'m-a* (M x, 6), and *gu-'m-n*(*a*) (M xxxiii, 2), is so far evidence that '*;*' may be the variant of *m* (= *w*).

(2) In M x, 2 *ḥu* is used for a plural of *ḥ* in *ḥu IX* 'chiefs of the Nine' (cf. ll. 4, 6). But we also find *ḥ;n-as IX-a-e* followed by *ar-e* (a plural participle ?), M lii, 2 (the form occurs apparently in M xxi, 4) while the singular is undoubtedly *ḥ IX*(?)*-a-e,* M ix, 5. This would certainly add evidence to the view that '*;*' = *u* (*w*).

(3) Additional possibilities may be found in the name ?-*;B*(*a*)*-nin* for which I have hazarded the comparison Ilu-ibni, a very doubtful point (M lii, 2, § 41, *note*) : *Mu-tal;* (=*Mu-tal-w* ?, § 31) : *Bar-ḥi;* or *Bar-ḥi* simply (for Bar-Ḥayâ ?, § 73).

(4) Hittite cuneiform shows (1) a final *wa* : (2) a medial *wa.* The instances of (1) point so much to the *wa* in these cases being a separate particle (*a-ḥa-ti-wa* Al *r.* 19, *a-pa-a-aš-wa* Y 29 alongside of *a-pa-a-ša* Y 16, 20, *a-ut-ti-wa* Y 42, *i-id-din-wa* Y 21) that it is better to draw our evidence from (2) where there is less confusion. Cf. *a-na ab-bi-ma*(=*wa*)*-at-ta-an* ('unto thy fathers?'), A ii, 5, *kab-bu-wa-at-tin* Y 19 : particularly in *u-nu-te-es* beside *u-nu-wa-an-ta* in *a-na I GIŠ BANŠUR … ki-i u-nu-te-eš ṭa-a-i* (Y *r.* 26) and *I GIŠ BANŠUR u-nu-wa-an-ta a-na AN . UT ṭa-a-i* (Y *r.* 34) 'Give (up) to one table … as thy (?) *unu*' and 'Give one table as thy *unu* to Shamash.' Still more noticeable are the forms *ḥu-*(*u*)*-i-b*(*m*)*a* (D 14 : E 12), *ḥu-i-b*(*m*)*a-an-ṭa* (D 19), *ḥu-wa-an-ti* (Y 9), *ḥu-u-ma-an* (A i, 6, 7, 10 : Y 8 (?), 15), *ḥu-u-ma-an-ṭa* (A i, 26), which are all from the root *ḥ* 'great'. It seems not improbable that this inserted *wa* indicated a plural sometimes, and the two forms *šu-un-ni-wa-an-zi* (K 4) and *šu-un-ni-an-zi* (K 5) seem to show that it may be inserted or left out at pleasure in this case at least. The forms *tu-el* (Y 2, 10), *u-it* (A i, 24), *ku-in* (A i, 13 : Y 7, but cf. *ku-wa-bi* Y 25, *ku-wa-bi-ia* Y *r.* 26) show that a digamma is not needed in these cases.

The sign '*;*' is so often represented after an ideogram that there is much reason in the explahation of Peiser that it marks an ideogram, or of Sayce that it marks a plural. But M xxi, 2 apparently shows an instance where it begins a word.

(C) The Inscriptions from Carchemish : about the middle of the ninth century.

M ix. A broken inscription containing details of an alliance, mentioning Shalmaneser (?), Panammi (?), Targu-ras, Talas, Katê, and Bat.

(1) *Te*(?)*-a-san*(*n*)   ..*-a-s*   ⁿ*Sul*(?)*-man*(?) *san Nin-mi-s-*'place'   'country'*-s-ma*
    Saith   ..-as :   Shalmaneser (?), king of Nineveh,   the lord of lands,

    'god '*-ḥ-k*   ⁿ*Pan-mi san-s a-b*(*a*) ...
like (by) a (the) great god :   Panammi (?) the king with ...

(2) ... *san-t*(*a*) *ma-ḥ-n*(*a*)*-nis*   'god'*-Targu-r-s* ⁿ*Sul*(?)*-man*(?) *san Nin-mi-s-*'place'
   ... son (?) of our great lord,   Targu-ras,   Shalmaneser (?),   king of Nineveh,

ḥu-'chief'   ⁿ*Tal-s*   'ally' *;-k*   :   *ID-u*   *a-b*(*a*)*-t*(*a*)   *san-m-*
chief of lords (and) Talas   as allies   have accepted.   With thee I will do

(3) *t*(*a*)   *nis-ḥ-m-t*(*a*)   :   *ḥat*(?)*-r-s u-b*(*a*)*-r-a-t*(*a*)   *nis-zi*
   it (*or* act with thee) : I will make sonship with thee : ... will take (?) thee as a

mi-t : mi   :   'ally'-u-ni ir-r-a-t(a) 'ally'-zi-t(a)   :   ?-e-s-k   mi-ni . . san ...

son with me : our allies will join thee in thy alliance : ?-esk we will accept ...

(4) ...   *a-an-t-mi*   :   *Kat-t-e : nis-e*   *a-an-t-nin*   *B(a)-t nis-e*

... [as a son] hath counted me : Katê as sons hath counted us : Bat as sons

a-an-t-nin : ?-a ar-e   *Kat-n-a-u-t*   'god'-*Targu-r-zi :* "*Sul*(?)-*man*(?)

hath counted us : ... the Katnai are joining (?) with Targu-ras, Shalmaneser (?)

(5) *san Nin-mi-*'place'-*zi hu-*'chief'   "*Tal-zi*   :   *?-h*   :   *h IX*(?)-*a-e*

king of Nineveh, chief of lords, (and) Talas. ... ?, the chief, a chief of the

       a-k-t   *r-s-t(a) ?-k-ni*   'tablet'-*h*

Nine (?) hath come : he will join (?) thee (?) against our enemy : a great tablet (?)

      :   *kar-u-ni ir-r-a . . k . . . :*

of our commemoration (?) they join (?) ...

NOTES. l. 1. The name of the writer may possibly be a form of that which occurs on a new

Jerabis inscription ⌇⌇⌇   ?-*as*, but I do not think it likely. On Shalmaneser, § 51. It seems

possible that the 'great god' may be an expression for the Sun-god. Shalmaneser, in his inscriptions, calls himself 'king of multitudes ... the Sun of multitudes' (Ob. 15 ff.: Mon. i, 5 : but cf. M xxi, 3). On the possibility of *Pan-mi san-s* being the same as *Pan-am-mi san* see § 56. By the time that this inscription was written Kalammu bar Hayâ had presumably been helped by the Assyrians, and Panammi had become a friend of Assyria also.

l. 2. On *ma-h-n(a)* 'our great lord' see § 44. Talas may be the chief of Am-s, i.e. Homs (?), M iv, A, 3. The ideogram of a closed hand appears to mean 'to accept' especially in alliance or adoption. It occurs particularly noticeably in the epithet of Bar(?)-hi (§ 73) 'his accepted (adopted) brother'. We

find it once in a new Jerabis inscription ⌇⌇⌇ *ID; a-san-n-zi* : 'they have accepted'.

For the phrase 'I will act with thee' (or similar), see TA 4 : for 'I will make sonship', § 73. On *hat-r-s* see § 92. The word *u-b(a)-r-a-t(a)* is difficult; it occurs once again on a new Jerabis inscription as a verb undoubtedly, of the form *u-* (§ 72). The problem is to discover the root : is it *b(a)-r* [which I admit is tempting from its apparent similarity to the Indog. *bhéro* 'to bear'], or is it simply *b(a)*? The pros and cons appear to me to be as follows :—

U-b(a)-r-a-t(a) [like *ir-r-a-t(a)* ?] may be of the form *t-e-r-a* (the root with *r-a* added for the plural), and if we are to see a plural (or collective) in the two nouns which precede each, then the question of root is practically solved. Now the root *b(a)* (or *b(a)-ir*) is found with and without the augment *a*, and, as in the case of *u-b(a)-r-a-t(a)*, the meaning appears to be certainly 'bring', 'take'. I believe, however, that any Indogermanic comparison would be misleading, and that we must see in it the root *b(a)*, more particularly because of the common root *pa* in Hittite cuneiform, which apparently means the same. It is peculiarly strange that no discovery of a sign for *p* in the hieroglyphs has resulted from our investigations : and it is certainly noticeable that the number of roots in Hittite cuneiform which can be definitely stated to be spelt with *p* is (as far as the texts published up to now show) exceedingly small, and, if we except proper names, can probably be reckoned on the fingers of one hand. But there is one such root which is very frequent in its forms, the root *pa*, in which I am much inclined

to see our root *b(a)*, on the assumption that the sign for *b(a)* could be used for *p(a)* on occasion (like *bu* and *pu* in Assyrian). If the occurrences be compared, the meaning will be obvious:—

(M xxxiii, 2)
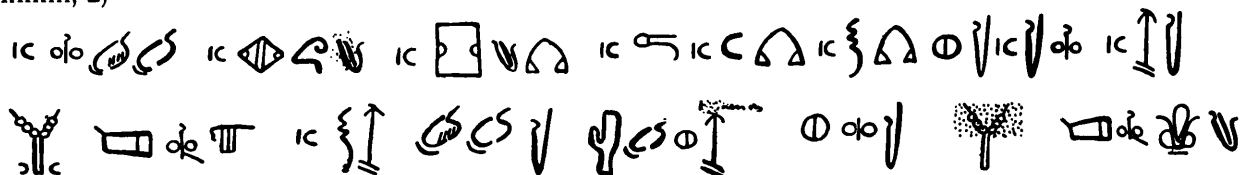
= : *a-b(a)-ir : gu-'m-n(a)* : 'tablet'-*n(a)-s* :'ally' :-*ḥ-s* : *te*(?) *s-e-t(a)* : *t(a)-a* : *mi-t* 'wood'; *ⁿT(a)-a-nas* : *te*(?)-*mi* *b(a)-ir-t(a) ḥat*(?)-*ir-e-mi:e-a-t(a)* 'wood' *ⁿT(a)-a-nin-n(a)* 'Our tablet of making alliance bringeth a gift (?): thy letter did speak concerning(?) Tyanian wood. I have commanded (that) my ... (?) should bring (it) thee; with thee is the Tyanian wood!' (or similar translation, see translation to M xxxiii). *A-b(a)-ir* occurs again on l. 7, and in M xxxii, 2, 4.

In cuneiform we find the following forms: *pa-i-mi* Y 43: *pa-at-ta* C ii, 2, *pa-a-at-ta* C ii, 6: *pa-a-it* Y *r*. 10: *pa-it* F, 2: S i, 10: Y 16: *pa-a-u* Y *r*. 12: *pa-u* Al. 11: *pa-iz-zi* F 1, 3: L 3: S i, 12: Liv. i, 13: *pa-iš* Y 11: *pa-a-ir* Y 22: Z ii, 9: *pa-a-un* W 19: *up-pa-aḥ-ḥi* A i, 18: *up-pa-(aḥ)-ḥu-un* A i, 15, 28. The meaning appears in Y *r*. 12 (Such-and-such) *pa-a-u ku-iš* ᵃᵐᵐ*muškinu nu-ut-ta* I LU *pa-a-u* '... bringeth; as a gift (?) a poor man to thee I sheep bringeth', and W 19 *nam-ma i-na mâti ali mi-ra-a pa-a-un* 'I brought *namma* (a covenant?) into the land of Mirâ (?)'. The causatives in A i are also translated similarly.

I am therefore inclined to eliminate the possibility *b(a)-r*, and see only *b(a)* = *pa* as the root. (For *gu-'m-n(a)* see notes to the translation to M 1, p. 123.)

l. 4. *A-an-t-mi*, § 32. *B(a)-t* occurs TA 5. The translation is difficult: the phrase 'to set (*an*) as a son' occurs on TA 4 and perhaps M x, 6: 'to set as an ally', M xi. 2. The *Kat-n-a-u-t* are, I presume, the tribe of Ḳatnai, east of the Euphrates, to the south-east of Bît-Adini.

l. 5. I cannot suggest anything for the chief's name, but see notes to M viii: for the abbreviation for the Nine see § 64. *A-k-t* is the perfect of the root *k* 'to go'. On *r-s-t* see translation to M xxi, note on *ar-nis*. The sign ⬛, indicating 'fighting' or 'hostility', is to be distinguished from ⬛, particularly in M x, and may be exemplified by the following quotations:—

⬛ appears as an epithet after two chiefs' names in M x, 4, 6; and also with the prepositions *k-n* (*ID-k-n-m* 'for my enemy', l. 7, and *k-ni*, as here) and *a-b(a)* (l. 8); while in the line preceding *a-b(a)* is used before 'ally'. This would appear to fix its meaning as 'enemy', and we can apply it to the other cases: (TA 3) *s-r-a ID : I-k-n-m : k-mu e-a-t(a)* 'They have written, "Against my (? or should it be emended to *n*, 'our'?) common foe I will go with thee"': (TA 4) *s-r-a : kat-n : t-e : I; ID-a-ar* 'They have written, "We are of one speech (or intention) against(?) a foe"': (TA 5) *: kat-n : I ; ID-a-ar* 'We are one against(?) a foe': (M lii, 2), various chiefs of the Nine : *t(a)-a ID : N-ka : A-nin-n(a)-*'place' *: nis-u : *'ally' *ar-e* 'against the enemy of Nks of Aninna (Adinna), their son, have joined alliance': (*ib.* 3) *: san-r-a* 'ally' *ID-I*(?)-*k-n* 'they have made alliance against a (common?) foe'. A new Jerabis inscription gives ⬛ : *k;-a-mi t(a)-a ID T(a)-bal-*'place' 'I will march against an enemy of Tabal'. (I have accidentally drawn the foot the wrong way round.)

On the other hand when ⬛ *k* is added, a verb appears to be intended. (M v, 1) 'god'-*r-e ar-k Ir*(?)-*r-a* 'god'-?-*mi te*(?)-*san-mi ID-k-mi* 'Irra (?) hath sworn (?) by the gods, " By my god ... I have promised I will fight."' A similar phrase occurs in M xxi, 4, 7. M x is full of indications of its meaning (see the next translation); *ID-k-m* 'I will fight' occurs in M xii, 1, 2 and 3, 2. M lii, 4 gives *: t(a)-a ?-?san*

: ID-k-n(a) 'against ?-?, the king, we will fight.' [The ⟁ *k* may possibly be dropped in M lii, 3 *nis-u : a-san-ni ID*, but the sense is difficult, and not much stress can be laid on this, for the words suggest an emendation of the copy in Messerschmidt to the 'hand' (alliance) sign.] The meaning for ⟦⟧ is probably, as Professor Sayce suggested, 'a tablet'; certainly M xxxiii, 2 bears this out (but see p. 74, *note*): possibly *kar-u-ni* is 'our commemoration, record' in accordance with the root *kar* discussed in the notes to the translation of M ii.

M x. A stela from Carchemish, with a figure of a king in high relief holding a staff. From the translation given below it appears to be an inscription from Shalmaneser (?) 'the king of Assyria' to Targu-(ras), (king of Carchemish ?), treating of alliance.

(1) *Te*(?)-*hi Sul*(?)-*man*(?) *san As-ir-*'place'-'country' 'country'-*ma* 'god'-*Targu*
Shalmaneser (?), king of Assyria, lord of lands, sendeth a
'brotherhood'-*san*
message to (greeteth) Targu(-ras ?): 'Make (*or* making) brotherhood

(2) *a-b(a)* *san(n) ID-k S-s-?* 'god'-'sun'-'king' *Bar*(?)-*k*
against (with) one making war(:) against Sas-..., (and) [Šamaš-šarri, Chemosh-
hu IX-zi
melek] (and) Bark (?), the chiefs of the Nine,

(3) 'god'-*Targu* 'ally'-*mn* ?-*n-t(a) ID*...
Targu(-ras ?) is my ally; ?-nt (is) a foe...

(4) ... *ID-k san-n* ?-*ar h IX ID*
[with him] we will fight (*or*, do thou fight): ?-ar, a chief of the Nine (is) a foe:

(5) 'brotherhood'-*n IX* *kat-t(a)* [*a*]-*b(a)*.. *kar*
the Nine have made brotherhood. Do thou with ... a commemoration (?)

(6) *san-m* : *nis* : *a-an-zi* *M-?-k-k h IX ID* *gu-'m-a*
make (for) me. They have set as a son M-kak, a chief of the Nine, a foe. Gifts

(7) *li-an a-am-s* *ID-k-n-m a-b(a)* 'ally': ...
[between (?) us (?) have been (?) exchanged (?)], (so) against my enemy with
alliance (*or* with friend)...

(8) ... *a-b(a) ID* : *ID-k san-n*
[let us join]: with a foe we will fight (*or*, do thou fight).'

NOTES. l. 1. *Te*(?)-*ḥi*, § 73: *As-ir*, § 51. As far as can be seen in this text, which is written in an abbreviated fashion, 'Targu' is an abbreviation for the Targu-ras of the other Carchemish inscriptions; at any rate it obviously cannot refer to a god here. This hieroglyph of making blood-brotherhood occurs in this text only, as far as I know: there is a shortened form (see sign-list, no. 82): it is difficult to see whether it is an imperative, participle, or even finite verb.

l. 2. *Ab*(*a*) is almost certainly 'with' from § 40, but l. 8 shows the meaning 'fight with'; the sense of l. 2 may be either ' Make alliance together with any one making war against XX ', or ' Making alliance against any one hostile, (namely) XX '. *S-s-*? is a difficulty; the last character occurs in M xi, 4 where the group may be a name ?-*an-ni* (see translation to M xi). ' The-Sun(?)-is-king ', the equivalent of so many Semitic names, occurs (?) on TA 4, where he is apparently the ruler of Amḳ.

l. 3. The group at the end of this line is apparently a name ending in -*n-t*(*a*); its first character occurs as an ideogram (?) in TA 4, 7, 8. The only name in the Assyrian texts which I can find at all comparable is Bur-a-na-te of the Yasbuḳai who joined the earlier coalition against Shalmaneser in the time of Sangar (§ 24), but as he was captured, it is unlikely that this is his name. Hence there is no probability that this character reads *bur*.

l. 4. I cannot identify this chief's name. For *kar san-m*, see the notes to M ii (p. 111): it may be either ' I will make a commemoration ', or 'do thou make for me '.

l. 6. For the chief's name cf. M xi, 5. *Gu-'m-a*, notes to translation to M i (p. 123).

l. 7. *Li-an a-am-s*, a difficult phrase. *Li* occurs in M xxxiii, 1 and the Bogtcha stela (which must probably be thus emended) '... greeteth *li-n s-t*(*a*) " Make alliance with us ".' Are we to translate this *li-n s-t*(*a*) 'unto us thou didst write', seeing in the *li* the postpositive preposition -*l* so common in cuneiform ? [Examples are: Many cities names in C 1, e.g. *alᵐIa-ti-il*: *tu-el* (2nd pers. pl. of the pronoun), A i, 24, Y 2, 10: D 5: *u-ul* (3rd pers. pl.) A ii 4, 6, 8: Y *passim*.] *a-am-s* (also M xxxiii, 4) should clearly be an augmented tense of the verb, but I cannot offer any suggestion for the termination -*s* unless it be that of a middle or passive voice, as is suggested by *r-s-zi* 'they will join' middle voice from √*r*? See notes to translation to M xxi and the possible form *san-n-st*(*a*) (§ 69); *a-am-nis* occurs on M vii, 2, where ' have exchanged (with) us' (or similar) is a possible rendering.

M xi. A column from Carchemish; of which one semi-circumference is engraved, the other apparently having been shorn away to make room for a full-faced carving of a Hittite (?) figure (god or king) with the distinguishing guilloche below. It is possible that later inhabitants of Carchemish, having no respect for the ancient mention of Assyria or alliances therewith, used the column, which came as a present from some 'Assyrianizing' king, for their own purposes.

(1) (Mention of *Targu-ras*.)

(2) ... *ḥ*(?) *k*(?) *san-e a-b*(*a*) : "*Pan-am-mi*   *Bar*(?)-*ḥi* ' swear '-*zi*   ?-?-*e*
... ...   kings, with Panammi (and) Bar-Ḥayâ(?) have sworn the pledges (?)

"*Sul*(?)-*man*(?)   *san As-r-a-*'place '-'country ' ' ally '-*zi*   *a-an-zi* ' lord '(?)-*m*
of Shalmaneser (?),   king of Assyria;   as an ally   they have set   [my (?)

    n(*a*)-*zi*   *n-m-n-e*   "?-?-*r-a*   *nis-n*(*a*)(?)*n e* ...
lord (?) with (?) us (?)] : the covenants of ... ra (a chief), our (?) son, ...

(3) ... *Targu-[r?]-ni* "*Sul*(?)-*man*(?) *san Nin-m-*'place' *hu-*'chief' *Man*(?)-*am-*
... Targu-ras, Shalmaneser (?), king of Nineveh, chief of lords, Manam (?),

s-ḥ *Tal-s Kar-s-am-mi* (or *Kar-am-mi-s*) *nis* ?-*m-e n-m-n-e* : *a-t*(*a*)
the chief, Talas, Karsammi the son of ?-me, covenants have given :

'lord'-*m* ?-*a-e-m ma-m te*(?); ?-*si t-u-si k-k* ...
[my lord(?), ..., my master] saith '... with you go ...'

(4) ... *s san-si ID-ḥ* 'swear' *Ar-am ḥ K-as-k mi-r-a*
... they have made [..., the chief]. Aram, the chief of Kaški, hath sworn before

'god'-*ḥ* *kat-s* ? *nis-k* ? *b*(*a*)(?) *ni n*(*a*) *k nin* "*K-r-a-ḥ*
the great god (that) he ... ... Kirrî, the chief,

ID; *kat-n* "*Bar*(?)-*k-ḥ* *a-t*"
hath sent a runner (?) (that) 'We (and) Bark, the chief, have spoken (?) with

"?-*an-ni kat-s Man*(?)-*am* ...
(*or*, the father of) ?-anni : he (and) Manam (?) ...'

(5) ... *kat ID-ḥ* *n-m-n* *K-r-a-ḥ* : *mi-ni* : 'swear'; ?-*u*
... [..., the chief] the covenant of Kirrî, the chief, hath accepted(?). ?-u

kat-s *Mi-?-k-k* : *te*(?) *r-k-r a-u* (numeral) 'tablet' *Tal-as*
hath sworn (that) he (and) Mi-?-k-k (*or* Mi-? will come) ... ... Talas

U-s-Targu-nis : *ID* *ka-s-t*(*a*) *a-t*(*a*) ?-*e* 'brother'-*si* .. *e* ..
the son of Us-Targu, a feast (?) ... they have given ... as a brother ...

NOTES. 1. 2. On the beginning, see § 52. For 'they treat as an ally', cf. M ix, 3 'take thee for a son'. For "?-?-*r-a* perhaps read '(the covenants) of ..? "engrave" (?) +*r-a* they have engraved (?)'.

1. 3. 'Manam (?) the chief': Manam (?) occurs on a new Jerabis inscription.

1. 4. For the first ideogram, see TA 5, 7. 'Aram of Kask' is discussed in § 30: Tiglath-Pileser I includes the Kaškai among the Hittites (Cyl. II, 100). The sign after *kat-s* is doubtful, but is not *man* (?). *K-r-a* = Kirrî, §§ 9, 27: the tang on the *a* is probably to mark it as a personal name rather than to add a case-ending. This is the only place which I know for the character of the two legs running. *At*" may be a verb : if it be the augmented tense of √*t*, I would suggest √*te* 'to say' for it. 'Father' (p. 99) is, however, a possibility. It would be tempting to read *Bar-k*(*g*) as *G-bar*=Gabbaru, of Ia'di, but as Panammu was also king of Ia'di, it is impossible. The name ?-*anni* occurs on a new Jerabis inscription.

1. 5. *Mini*, § 75. The name *Mi-?-[k-k]* is difficult : it might perhaps be compared to *M-?-k-k* M x, 6. *R-k-r* apparently occurs as a word M ii, 6, q.v. The ideogram of two heads facing each other over a vessel would almost suggest the meaning 'feast'; it occurs again, e.g. M xxiii, c, 1, so as to leave little doubt that it is one group.

M xv,B. A stela from Carchemish, sculptured with a representation of a king feasting (my corrections made from the stone in 1911).

(1) ... "*San*(*n*)-(*g*)*gar-s Bar*(?)-*ḥu nin*(*n*) *ḥ* 'country' *ma*(?) *ni-n-s* : *San-gar-s*
... Sangar, son of Barḥu (?), the chief, lord of lands, son of Sangar,

(2)   "*N-k-s k-a-n san-s*   *N-ka-k-n kat-s n-n kat-n-n*
(and) Nks the friend (?) of the king.   For Nks he unto (?) them (?)

(3) *: "Pan-am-mi*   *n-m-n s-n-n*   :   *ir-r-a-n-t :*
Panammi   an agreement I have written : they (?) will join you.

(4)   . . *tal*(?)*k ID-ḥ n-m-n s-n-*(5) *n*
. . . . . . ?, the chief, an agreement I have written.

NOTES. I cannot help thinking that there may have been more of the inscription to the right over a figure of Nks.

l. 1. On the identifications see § 3. On Barḫu see § 73.

l. 2. For Nks see § 8. *K-a-n*, §§ 46, 88. *San-s* is the genitive of *san*, cf. § 52, 64, N-ka occurs in M lii, 4, but the whole passage above is difficult; the possibilities of reading the words *kat-n-s n-kat n-n*, or other permutation, make translation hazardous. For *nu* 'to' see §§ 7, 77.

l. 3. *S-n-n*, § 71 : *ir-r-a-n-t*, see translation to M ix, 3, and notes to xxi, 2.

l. 4. The last chief's name occurs on a new Jerabis inscription.

The smaller pieces from Carchemish.   M xii, 1, part of a winged figure sculptured in the style of the date of Aššurnaṣirpal, with a few characters : 2, the place-name *M-t-r-*'place', i.e. *M-t-r*, probably Pitru, described in Shalmaneser's records as on the west of the Euphrates on the Sajur [1]: M xv, A (1) . . . *s* . . *am* . . *s* . . . [*Pan*]-*mi san-s* . . . (2) . . . *a-b*(*a*)*-n pan*(?) . . *s* . . *s*   *hi*(?)*-mn m-t-n :* ?-*n*(*a*)-*an : a-b*(*a*) 'lord'*-n*(*a*) . . . (3) . . . *n-m-n-t-an : mi-ni a-* . . . ? . . . *n-t :* . . . (4) . . . . *t*(*a*) . . : . .

(D) VARIOUS INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HITTITE ALLIES.

M i. The bowl said to come from Abu Habba or Babylon ; date, latter half of the ninth century. It is difficult to be certain where the inscription actually begins, but apparently it is a dedicatory offering in commemoration of a covenant between Irra, Bark, Targu-ras, and other chiefs, which was in the end probably carried off as loot to Babylonia.

Te(?) *Ir-r-a*   *t*(*a*)   *gu,-a*   *s-e-n-mi* (sic)   "*Gu-n-nas*   *man*(?)*-mn*
Saith Irra, [Give (?)   as a gift (?)   my inscription (?)   Gunnas,   my . . .] :

s-e   :   *n-m-n-e*   'god '-*Targu-r-r-s* 'god '-*Sul*(?)*-e-s*   :   *mi-ni*
the documents of the covenants of Targu-ras (and) Sul(?)es we(?) have accepted(?)

kat,-a man(?)*-k-n*(*a*) *: ? : t*(*a*)*-s* ?-'bowl'*-n*(*a*) 'god '-*Tesup-k-n*   *n-m-n-an*   *a-t*(*a*)*-ir*
                a bowl   for Tesup for our covenant hath given,

: a-n kat-mi   :   *s-un*(?)*: a-b*(*a*) *Bar-k-n*
which (covenant) I   wrote(?) with Bark.

---

[1] '*Ana-Aššur-utir-aṣbat* . . . which the Ḥatti call Pitru ' (Ob. 38).

Notes. It is a difficult text, partly because of its brevity. Irra is distinctly marked as a proper name on M xxiii, 2, and possibly occurs on M v, 1. Whether he is to be seen in the *ir-r-e* of M vii, 2 ; viii, 3, 4 is doubtful. *T(a)* is possibly the root *ta* ' to give', but the sense of this paragraph is unintelligible to me.

Gu;-a (= *gu-w-a*?, p. 116) occurs perhaps in M vii, 2 ; *gu*(?)*;-e-u* (numeral ?) 'tablet' *s-e n-m-n-an*, &c. (see translation further on) ; and it seems quite possible that it is to be seen in *gu-'m-n(a)* (= *gu-w-n(a)*) in M xxxiii, 2 : *a-b(a)-ir : gu-'m-n(a) :* 'tablet'-*n(a)-s* : 'ally' *:-h-s :* ' Our tablet of alliance bringeth a gift' (see the full translation to M xxxiii, further on): perhaps *gu-'m-a,* M x, 6. *Gu-'m-n(a)*, as far as I can see is the equivalent of the cuneiform *ku-iš, ku-in,* &c., and the numerous cases in which it occurs point to it meaning 'gift'; the forms *ku-iš, ku-in,* indicate that it is *ku-wiš, ku-win.* Examples are (nom.) (A i, 22 ff.), ' Unto thee they . . . they give *kušata* (dowry (?)) for thy daughter, my messenger (and) his (?) messenger'; *ku-iš tu-el u-it* a gift unto you *u-it* (a verb)' (cf. A ii, 14): Y *r.* 12 *ku-iš ᵃᵐMAŠDA nu-ut-ta I LU pa-a-u* '(as) a gift a poor man unto thee a sheep bringeth (?)': Liv. i, 13, *X*(?)*TU ku-iš pa-i-ši* 'ten (?) shekels (as) a gift they bring (?)'. Accus. *ku-in* (A i. 13) ' I have sent (?) Iršappa my messenger to thee *a-u ma-ni DÚ . SAL-ti AN . UD-mi ku-in DAM-an-ni u-wa-ta-an-zi* 'that our lady(?) thy daughter, to my Sun-god as a present to wife they may give' : (Y 7) *DÚ.MEŠ-ka ku-in ŠA.GA-in i-ia-an-zi* 'thy sons a gift (and) goods they . . .'. *Ku-it* (Y 16, *r.* 8, &c.) may be apparently a verb (cf. W 19 *nu-mu ᵈᵘIštar belti-ia ku-it ka-ni-eš-ša-an* ' Unto me my lady Ishtar granted his (her) friendship (?)'). *Ku-it-ki* (Y 19, *r.* 39 ; C ix, 4) is another form ; perhaps *ku-na-an-za* (Y 5, 6) ; *ku-wa-a* (Y *r.* 11), *ku-wa-bi* (Y 25, *r.* 26), *ku-e ta-aš* (A i, 17), *ku-e ta-ni-ik-ki* (Y *r.* 9) are possible forms of the same root. It seems, therefore, fairly clear that the hieroglyphic *gu-'m(w)-n(a)* (the accus.) is the same as *ku-in* in cuneiform.

On *s-e* see § 32, *note.* *N-m-n*, § 68. The name *Targu-r-r-s* occurs in the form *Targu-r-r-s-e* in M xxxii, 2, and *Targu-r-r* . . in a new Jerabis inscription ; the shorter form *Targu-r-s, Targu-r-zi* (and even *Targu* simply ?) on the Carchemish inscriptions published by Messerschmidt (is it the same name as Tarhulara, chief of Gurgum, *c.* 740, p. 31 ?). For the next names cf.

(oblique case), which occurs on a new Jerabis inscription : on the value of the god's name see § 53. *Mi-ni,* § 75, and for the form, § 69 : it is more probable here than *mi-ni-a* 'we'. *Kat;-a* occurs on M xlvi, 1. On *an* as a possible accus. from *a-u* 'who' see § 83 : on *s-un* (?), § 71. Bark is a well-known name on the Mar'ash and Carchemish inscriptions.

The Aleppo inscription, of which probably the best copy is that of Professor Sayce in *PSBA.*, xxxiii, 1911, 227, is too mutilated for translation. It mentions Tesup-id(?)-r (Benhadad).

The Inscription from Tel Ahmar. The text of this was first published by D. G. Hogarth in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology,* ii, from squeezes taken by Miss Gertrude Bell : and when I was sent down with Mr. T. E. Lawrence from Carchemish by the Trustees of the British Museum to Tel Ahmar, I was able to make a direct copy of the inscription again from the actual stone, which shows that the published text needs correction in several places. The stone was perfect a few years ago, but an Arab, being mad, claimed to have read the Hittite inscription and broke the stone in order to obtain the treasure which it concealed.

Tel Ahmar was the ancient Til Barsip which was occupied and colonized by Shalmaneser, so that the Hittite inscription probably dates to the earlier

years of his reign or late years of Aššurnaṣirpal. Among the names in the inscription are Huni (Aḫuni, the ruler of Til Barsip), Mutallu, Nistu, Giammu, Bark, and Barḫi (Bar-Ḥayâ ?), which date it fairly accurately.

(1) [Lacuna   ] . . *ni-?-n ḫ*(?)-'place' : 'lord'-*k-n-s* "*E-r-k-ar nin*(*n*)-*s*
    [Saith . . . unto his lord X of] the country . . . : unto his lord Erk(ar), the son

        : 'ally' : 'ancestors' . . . [hiatus] . . . *man*(?) *ar* ? ?   *Ḫu-ni-zi nin*(*n*)-*s :*
of the ally of [our] ancestors . . . . to Ḥuni (Aḫuni) son of

    Mu-tal,-a-ḫ-s   : 'ally' : -*ḫ b*(*a*)-*a mi-n-s*   *a-b*(*a*)-*t*(*a*)   :   *te*(?)-*ni ?-zi*
Mutallu the great, 'Make alliance with us.'   For thee we have commanded (?) [as

        : 'ally' : -*ḫ-? a-t*ᵘ (?) : 'bowl',*nin*(*n*)-*s*
a sign ?] of making alliance . . . our bowl

(2) 'god'-*Tesup-s* 'god'-*n-ni-s :* 'lord'-*k-n-nis*   'god'-*Gar-gu ?-am-? :* 'god'-?; *ir k*
    { for Tesup, our god.   Unto his lord }   Gargu (of ?) ?-am-?,   (proper
    { Unto his lord, Tesup, our god   }

ka s 'god'-?-?-*s r-c*(?)-*zi c-a*   :   *ḫ-s-c-n*-'place' 'god'-?-*s* . . . [hiatus] . . . 'god'-
names)   of the country . . . ,

Targu-r-[*r* ?]-*s-c* ? . . . : 'place (?)' : ? ? *nin e* 'god' . . *Ir-k* . . *s s s* . . . [hiatus] . . . *s a-?*
Targu-ras (?)   Irk(ar ?) . . .   ?

mi-t a-b(*a*)-? . . *te*(?) . . *mi* . . *ni : ID : -mi-?* (line ends)
    with   ?   my (?)enemy

(3) ? : ? *zi*(?) *ni* . . *t*(*a*) *u*(?) . . *n*ᵘ . . *m* : . . . .? *a-?*-'place' *r-nin-n* . .? . . *r* . . *e* . . *e* . .? . .
        ?   ?   we asked (?)

zi . . . [hiatus] . . . : *Bar*(?) . . *ḫu* . . .   ;-*t*(*a*) *s-r-a*   *ID : I-k-n-m*
        Barḫu (?)¹ . . .   have written   'Against my (*sic*) common foe

    : *k-mu t*(*a*)-*c-a*   "*Gu-am n*(*a*) . . . . *e* [*Tesup* ?]-?-[*r*]-*s* . . *n* . . *nis* . . *t* . . *t* . . *r*-[*s*]-*zi-t*(*a*) :
I will go with thee : Giammu (and) . . . (and) [Tesup-ras ?] . . .   . . . will join thee :

(title ?) *B*(*a*)-*r-k k-zi* (or *n*(*a*) ?)   : *ma-ḫ-n-s*   ?-*s-t*   *t*(*a*)-*a : ID; N-r-*
like Bark . . . (*or* for Bark),   our great lord thou shalt fight (?) against(?) ?' Unto

(4)   *am-k-n*   'god'-'Sun'(?)-*san*   ?-*as U-'m-k*
Naram (Naharaim ?)   (the chief) 'The Sun (?) is king',   the ruler (?) of Amk

_____

¹ ⟨bar⟩, certain, but the group may not be Barḫu.

.:   *"?-e*   *"?-u*   :   *te*(?) 'country'*-zi*   *s-r-a*   :

(the chief) ?-e, (the chief) ?-u,   { (in the speech of the land ?) } have written,
                                     { (in the land of...?)   }

    kat-n : t-e : I;ID-a-ar   *san-r-a t(a)-k-n(a)*
'We are of one speech (mind) against a foe.'   They have made [a feast ? ?],

ID..r   :   ?   *ID-k-n-s* : 'ally'*-h-n* :
an enemy...   [saying]   'Against   his   foe   let   us   make   alliance ;

n(a)-zi : ID-n(a)   *ID-n(a) t-r(=r-t*?) *a-an-t* [or *-an a-s-t*?] ... [hiatus] ...
among (with) us our   ... [he joineth ?]; he hath set ...'

?;-as ar-e   :   ?;-mi   *?-e nis-mu-k : "Nis-t-u : a-an-t*
joining [our ?]...   my...   (The chief) ?-e like my son (the chief) Nist hath set

    'ally'*:-m ar*   *r-nin-t(a)*   :'ally'*:-h b(a)-a mi-ni-s*
join(ing) my alliance.   He (we) asketh(?) thee   'Make alliance with us.'

(?)*-e san*   *U-s-? : a-b(a)-u-t(a)*   : *san-n t(a) e ..? k?;*   *ar-e ? t-k s-e-u*
Maketh(?) ... Us-?(?) ' With you we will act (towards you ?) ' ... joining (?)

(5) ... *IDr..r.. t(a)*.. *ma-n(a)-n-n(a) : n-m-n-an   r-s-mi   e-a B(a)-t*   : 'ally' :
...   our lord : our covenant I have joined(?) with Bat : I have joined

ar-mi   :   *hu : -mi-zi*   :   *n-m-n-an*   *a-b(a)-t(a)* : *?-h.. n-s* ...
alliance among (with, for) my nobles : our covenant (is) with thee : the chief ? ...

[hiatus] ... *-e :* 'ally (?)'*-h-mi u-zi : ID-n(a) : ID   r;-mi*   *?-h ar-n-[s* ?]
    alliance (?) I have made among (with) them ; our ... ...?, the chief, hath joined

    ... *nis*   :   *kat-n : I; ID-a-ar a-b(a)-t(a)*   *r-nin-n-t(a)*
us (?) (saying)   'We are one against an enemy with thee :   we ask (?) thee

:'ally'*:-h b(a)-a mi-n-s*   *ID-a mi-t* : *?-h* : *"?-ni-h*(?)[1]   *san-n*
"Make alliance with us"   the chief (and) ?-*ni*(?): let us act

e-a-t(a) : (title ?) *B-r-k-k-n ?;-a : h-e-e*(?)
with thee' Unto   Bark great ... s .

(6) *mi.. : ? : hi m" k n u*(?) : *?-r-a : mi*(?)*-t I*(?)*-k-n*   'bowl';   *s-n-zi*
                              [together ?]   a bowl   [they have

(or *n-s-zi*)   ['god'] *Tesup-k-n : ? : ? :*   *a-t(a)-t : te*(?) ? ...
inscribed ? or, for our bowl]   to Tesup   ...   he hath given

(7) ... *a m :* 'ally'*:-h m n ... :* 🖌 [lacuna] ... *san-n-t(a) -t(a)* : *?; ar* 'ally (?) ' *ar*
    ... make alliance   will act with thee

                ––––––––––––
[1] It cannot be the *"?-ni-li* of M xxi, 1 ?

li-n(a) e e t(a) e t(a) a t(a) mu-n(a)   *?-ḫ k*   *n-zi*   :   *n-m-n-a-n*
                                    like ?, the chief, among them : our covenant

a-b(a)-t(a) : *ID;-k-n-m* : *ar-mi t-s* : (?) 'bowl';*-nin-n-s*
with thee   at my feast   I joined : ? our bowl

(8) 'god'-*Tesup a-b(a)-?* : ? ? *san-n-t(a)*.. : ?; *man*(?) 'ally' (?) *ar li-n-n(a)* (?)
     for Tesup brought   . . . .

a-ID-t : *t-e n ar*(?) *ar*(?) : *Bar*(?)-*ḫi r-nin-t(a)*   :'ally': ...
     saith (?)   Bar-Ḥayâ(?) asketh (?) thee :   '[Make] alliance [with us]'

[large hiatus] .. *nin-r-a* ? *e* 'ally'-*e t(a)* ...

. . . .

NOTES. In spite of the attempted translation being such a patchwork I thought it better to piece it together thus, rather than to give a collection of selected phrases.

l. 1. *Erkar*, cf. l. 2 (or *Erskar*, cf. p. 53). I cannot suggest any identification for his name. On 'ancestors' cf. translation to M xvi, A and § 50. Are we to consider that Mutallu had taken Aḫunu as his adopted son, or should the 'son' be part of the writer's words? The character before *zi* occurs also on M i, and I have hazarded the suggestion 'sign' as a translation: or are we to read a chief's name here, including the 'face' sign, and comparing l. 4? *At^u* occurs M xi, 4. The word *nin-n-s* is difficult: is it an elaborate form of 'our'? This gift of a bowl to Tesup is mentioned again on ll. 6, 7: cf. M i.

l. 2. On 'Tesup our god' cf. the phrase in M xxi, 5 'god'-*Tesup-u-nis-k-n* 'god'-*n-ni*. *Pan-[am]-mi* might be suggested as a possible restoration for *te*(?) .. *mi*.

l. 3. Giammu, the ruler of the Balikh district. For *r-[s]-zi-t(a)* see § 83. How are the characters after *B-r-k* to be read: *B-r-k-k : ma-ḫ-zi n-s* 'like Bark with our great lord'? *N-r-am* is possibly Naharaim, Tel el Amarna *Na-ri-ma*, Eg. *Nhrina*: place-names are not necessarily marked by the determinative.

l. 4. The name of the ruler of Amk occurs (?) on M x, 2: the two names following his, although as yet unreadable, occur in the northern inscriptions, Malatia and Mar'ash respectively. The word following, *te*(? *pan* ?)-'country'*-zi*, is difficult: is it a name of place or person, or does it simply mean 'in the language of the country' (Naharaim)? For *-ar, -r* as an enclitic preposition see § 82, *note*: at the same time *ar* might be part of the root 'to join'. *Takna*, notes to translation to M ii, 2 (p. 111). The group following 'let us make alliance' occurs also in l. 5: there is some doubt about the grouping of the hieroglyphs : here we might read :'ally':*-ḫ-n : n(a)-zi : ID-n(a) ID-n(a)* or :'ally':*-ḫ-n-n(a) : ID-zi : ID-n(a)*. The example in l. 5 :'ally (?)'*-ḫ-mi n-zi : ID-n(a) : ID r;-mi* seems to point to the former being correct. The first *ID* looks like a flame, and is used with *ḫ* in ll. 5, 7 and in M xi, 4, 5, and without, in xxxiii, 10, probably (at any rate in TA) to indicate a chief's name. The second, the curling line, occurs also with *n(a)* on a new Jerabis inscription : (So-and-so) *ID-n(a) a-s-t* 'hath written a...' (§ 70). I can offer no satisfactory translation. 'So-and-so hath reckoned Nist as though he were my son': Nist was the son of Bauli, the grandson of Mutallu, either by birth or adoption. *R-nin-t(a)* occurs again in l. 8, and as *r-nin-n-t(a)* in l. 5, which makes it probable that an additional *n* suffixed indicates 1st pers. pl. ; I can only suggest the meaning 'ask' for it. (See p. 107 for the root *r-n*.)

l. 5. On *n-m-n-an r-s-mi* see § 68. Bat occurs on M ix, 4. On 'nobles' see § 38.

l. 7. See § 33, *note*. For *t-s* cf. the Hittite cuneiform *ta-aš*, which occurs Z i, 8, *ta-aš i-na ^{alu}A-ri-in-na* and 12 *ta-aš alu-ri-an-ta-an*. It might possibly mean 'this'. (Cf. the *t(a)-s* on M. 1, p. 122.)

M vii. From a statue found at Kirtschoglu : date, middle of ninth century. From an unknown king of a place not far from Panammi's state, mentioning 'our brother Barḥi' (Bar-Ḥayâ ?) and recording an alliance.

(1) *Te*(?)-*a-san*(*n*) . . . : 'ally' :-*ḥ* [*b*(*a*)(?)]-*a mi-nis t*(*a*)-*a mi-t Bar*(?)-*ḥi*(?)
Saith [Panammi ?]. . . 'Make alliance with us concerning (?) Bar-Ḥayâ (?)
'brother'-*nas* 'god'-'place'-*ḥ-s-n*(*a*) "?-*tal-n*
our brother' : by the great god of his land unto -tal (a chief)

(2)   *t-e*   *k; ir r e a-am-nis* : *gu*(?),-*e-u* (numeral ?) 'tablet'
{ he hath said, } 'Come . . . . . .'   their gifts (?)   . . .   a tablet (?)
{ or "?-*tal-n* hath said, }

    s-e n-m-n-an   *u-t* . . *san-mi*   *a-b*(*a*)(?)-[*u*(?)-*t*(?)]
the writing of our covenant [with] you I have [written ?] : [with you ?] (hands)

    : 'ally' : *ar-mi* . . .   .
alliance I have joined.

NOTES. l. 1. On *ta mit*, see note on p. 85. On Barḥi (?) see § 73. For ' the great god of his land' cf. § 81, and the translation to Restan (p. 114), M vi, 2, and M xi, 4; or s hould we read *n*(*a*)-*s* 'our' (land) ?
l. 2. *Irre* can hardly be a form of the chief's name Irra (cf. l. 3 of M viii): on *a-am-nis* see the notes to translation of M x, 7. *Armi*, notes to translation of M xxi.

M viii. From Iskanderun : date, second half of ninth century. Record of an alliance.

Top line broken.

(2) : *a-?-n*(*a*) *kat-n*(*a*) 'ally' ,-*mu e-a-n*   : ?-;   *te*(?)   *r-r a-b*(*a*)-*u*
    ?   we (and)   my ally with us, . . . ? (a chief) promiseth he will join (?) with

    kat-mi : *k;*?-*a-an* : *t*(*a*)-*a* : *mi*
them   I will   come   . . . Unto me

(3) *n*(*a*)-? *ID;-man*(?)-*n*(*a*) 'brother'-*n*(*a*) 'ally' ; *Ir-r-e*   *a-t*(*a*)-*ir* . . *u* 440 *t-u*
    ? -manna,   our brother, the ally of Irre (?) hath given . . 440 *tu*.

an;
Hath appointed (?)

(4) *Ir-r-e* : *M-n-n*(*a*)-*m*   ?,-*u r-k-n*(*a*)   'ally' ,-*e* *K-r-a-u* : *kat-s*   *mi-r-a-mi* :
. . . . as the allies of Kirrî. He in my presence

(5)   : *te*(?)   *k-*(?)-*mi*   : *ḥ*(?). . . : *a* . . . : *ar-? a-ar-u* . . *ḥ-?-s-mi* ?
    hath said, ' I will come (?)'   . . . .

NOTES. It is a very difficult text, and I have inserted only a tentative translation.
l. 2. It is possible that the hieroglyphic name '?-;' is the same as that in M ix, 5.
l. 3 For *Ir-r-c* see M vii, 2. '440' was suggested by Professor Sayce (*PSBA.*, xxvii, 1905, 199).
l. 4. On Mannam see note to M xi, 3: on *rkn(a)* see note to M ii, 6: on *K-r-a-n*, M xi, 4.

M xviii, *from Güriin* (middle of ninth century). B, l. 2, contains the name 'Shalmaneser (?) king of Nineveh', and l. 5 contains the names of some chiefs of the Nine. Beyond this the characters are too obliterated for any translation.

M xix, *from Izgin* (middle of ninth century). It begins 'Saith ⨍-?-s' (one of the kings of M xvi, A?). There are mentioned ⌐⌐ -*ar-mn* l. 4, ⊡ ⚭ (?) l. 5, ⚭(⫐) l. 7, *Kat-t-e*(?) l. 8, possibly *Gar-[a]-li* l. 16, *Pan-mi san-s*, l. 18.

M xx, *from Palanga* : too obliterated for an attempt at translation.

Garstang, Land of the Hittites, pl. XLI, an inscription from Aintab (middle of ninth century). (1) broken, (2) *kat-n-s* ?-? *ni-si : K-a-k n-n*, (3) .. *li* ? .. *a-an*(?)*r m* ...? The chief interest in this text (which I have copied from a photograph) is the name *K-a-k*, which also occurs similarly spelt in the long Jerabis inscription mentioned in § 87. It is obviously the Kâki of Shalmaneser, § 24.

M xxvi, *from Karaburshlu*. An alliance feast, inscribed.

(E). THE ARIARATHES INSCRIPTIONS (middle of ninth century).

M xxxiv, *at Ivriz*. A rock sculpture at the headwaters of a clear mountain stream. The larger figure (Tesup-mis) holds corn and grapes in his hands : the smaller (Ariarathes) makes the sign of greeting.

A. Over the larger figure is the inscription

(1) *mi-a* 'god'-*Tesup-mi-s*   (?)-s *kat-mi*
     I am Tesup-mis, the   (?): I am

(2)   "*A-r-ar-a-nin-s*   *a-t(a)-an ID.I.-ni*
     the 'son of Ariarathes'. We have given our hands (alliance):

(3)   *s-e*   'ally'-*n(a)*   *t(a)*-?
     the documents of our alliance giv[ing]

B. Over the smaller figure

(1) *mi-a mu-nas*(?) *ⁿA-r-*
　　I　am . . . 　Ar-

(2) *ar-a-s te*(?)-*ḫi*
　　iarathes greeting

(3) *nᵘ-ni-mi*
　　my son

NOTES. I cannot make anything of the inscription C, except that the name *A-r-ar-a-s* occurs in it. The Ariarathes here portrayed is, I assume, much earlier than any of those kings of Cappadocia of his name given in Greek records. I do not doubt myself that the Tcsup-mis here sculptured is the same as the Tesup-min(a) (accus.) on M lii, 2, which would make the date of this inscription about the middle of the ninth century. This is endorsed by the names Targu-r-r-s-e and Pan(am)mi in M xxxii: (title ?) B(a)-nin(n), xxxiii.

l. 2(A). Tesup-mis calls himself 'son of Ariarathes', probably having been adopted. (The discovery of this postpositive 'son' is due to Professor Sayce (*PSBA.*, xxvii, 1905, 234: cf. *ibid.*, 225, l. 1 : 226, l. 2)). Ariarathes is the king of Bor (M xxxiii) In B, 1 are we to read *mu-t(a)* (see pl. LVII of Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*) 'thy *mu*', which would suggest *mu* = 'father' (parallel to *ma* = 'lord') ?

l. 3 (A). For *s-e*, see *note* 2 on p. 33.

M xxxiii, *from Bor*. Sculptured with the figure of a king wearing the same flat head-dress as Araras at Ivriz.

(1) : *ⁿA-r-ar-a-s* : *ⁿT(a)-a-n(a)-a-ḫ-s*-'place' : 'lord'-*k-s* : *Tal-ḫ-s* 　: 　*te*(?)-*ḫi*
　　Ariarathes 　of Tyana, the great, 　unto his lord Talhas sendeth greeting

　　　　　　　　　li-n s-t(a)
(*or* a message) [Unto (?) us (?) thou (?) didst write (?)]

(2) 　: 'ally': -*ḫ* 　*b(a)-a mi-nis* 　: 　*a-b(a)-ir* 　: 　*gu-'m-n(a)* 　　'tablet'-*n(a)-s*
　　' Make alliance 　with us.' 　　Bringeth 　a gift 　　our tablet

　　: 'ally': -*ḫ-s* 　　　　: *te*(?) *s-e-t(a)* : *t(a)-a*
of making alliance ; thy letter did speak concerning (?)

(3) : *mi-t ID;* *ⁿT(a)-a-nas* : 　　　　　*te*(?)-*mi b(a)-ir-t(a) ḫat*(?)-*ir-e-mi*
　　　Tyanian 　wood. 　　I have commanded (that) should bring (it) (thee) my

　　　　: (?) *c-a-t(a) ID ⁿT(a)-a-nin-n(a)* 　　: 　　'god'-*Tesup-mi-n(a)*
messengers (?): (now) with thee is the (our ?) Tyanian wood! 　　Tesup-mis
　　　　　　(i.e. thou hast Tyanian wood).

(4) : *a-*(?) : *k-k;-an-ni* : *a-am-s u-t* *ⁿ(?)mi-n*

(5) . . *ir* . . *nᵘ* 　　(6) . . . *n* : (title ?) *B(a)-nin(n)* 　　(7) : *a-b(a)-ir* 　*ⁿ?-k-a* . . *li-s* . . .
　　　　　　　　　　Banin 　　　　　hath brought

(8) ... *u* .. *s* : *"Am-t(a)-nas* : 'lord '-*a*   (9) *u-c-a* :   *kat-k* : (title?) [Banin ?]
   the lord of Hamath   with them   Katk (?)   ... Banin ? ...

(10) ... 'ally'-[*h b(a)-a*] *mi-nis*   *ID-n(a)* : *n(a)-t*   (11) : *hat*(?)-*ir-u* ...
   '[Make] alliance [with] us.'   their messenger (?)

(12) ... *k*(?) *a-b(a)-ir* ?-*e-ni*   *li-n-s-t(a)* *hat*(?)-*r* ' god '-*Tesup-mi-s* ...
   ... hath brought our ... to us (?) and the messenger (?) of Tesup-mis ...

NOTES. l. 1. On Tyana, see § 1, *note*. *Talhas*, M xxxii, 1. On *li-n s-t*, cf. notes to translation to M x, 7.
   l. 2. *Gu-'m-n(a)*, see notes to translation to M i (p. 123).
   l. 3. *"T(a)-a-nas*, § 85, *hat*(?)-*ir-e*, *hat*(?)-*ir-u*, l. 11, *hat*(?)-*r*, l. 12, § 92.
   l. 4. On *a-am-s*, see notes to M x.
   l. 10. On the ideogram, see notes to TA (p. 126).

M xxxi, c, *from Andaval.* It mentions *"A-r-ar-a-?* in l. 3.

M xxxii, *from Bulgar Maden.*

Professor Sayce (*PSBA.*, xxi, 1899, p. 205) says of this inscription: 'I should advise those who did not spend hours over the squeezes of the Bulgar Maden inscription when they arrived in England to leave that inscription alone,' and from the appearance of it in Messerschmidt, although I have never seen the squeezes, I should quite concur. Either the inscription changes the recognized forms of the characters, or we have several of them written backwards (e.g. *nas* l. 2, *n(a)* l. 2, *t* l. 2, *u* ll. 2, 3). It begins:

(1) *Te*(?)-*b(a)-a-san(n)*   :   *Tesup-n(a)*   *"Pan-mi*   *Nis-t* : *Tal-h-s*   :
Say (*or*, have said)   (unto?) Tesup-[mi ?]-s   Pan(am)mi,   Nist, Talhas, (and)

Tesup-a-u(?)-*s*   : 'ally' :-*h b(a)-a* *mi-nis*   :   *"A-r-ar-a-nin-s*   :   'lord'-*k-s* ...
Tesup-aus (?), 'Make alliance with us.'   Araranins (= Tesup-mis) unto his lord

k-n-nis(?) : *Tal-h*(?)-*s*   :   *nis*(?),-*s* : *t(a)-a-u* :   *te*(?)-*san(n)* :   *ma-h-n*
   ...   Talhas,   his son (?)   unto them :   Our great lord

(2) *"A-r-ar-a-ni*-[*t*?]   :   'lord'-*k-n*   :   *kar;-a*   *nas*(?)-*mi-e*   *a-b(a)-ir*   'god'-
Ararani[ns ?] said unto the lord   :   ...   hath brought

Lal(?)-*k-n(a)* : *b-k-n(a)* : 'ally'-*n-u* : *a* ... *n(a)* 'god' *Tesup-mi*   'god' *Targu-r-r-s-e* :
                           Tesup-mi(s)   (unto ?)   Targu-ras,

   r"-n(a) *t*(?)-*e*   :   *"A-r-u* : -*a-u-t*   :   *"Mu-m-e* :
our ... saith, 'The tribe (or *"R-n(a)-t*(?)-*e* of the tribe) of Arwaut (?)   Mume,

   T(a)-a- 'country'-*h* :
chief of the city of Taia ...'

Notes. For the rest I can suggest little : proper names apparently occur, notably in l. 3, *te*(?)-*san-ni* ?-*e-t*(*a*) : ?-*an-nas* U(?)-'*m-k : ID;-n s-r-a* 'god '-'friend '-*k-ni-nis k-n : kar-a-tal*(?)-*k-n* 'telling us (?) .. *eta* (and) -*annas* of Unki a ... have written, "Unto (by ?) the god of our friend we will come (?) ..."' (better than as hyphened on p. 33), and at the end of the line, 'Our great lord Araran(a)-[?] hath spoken with you.' In l. 5, 'god '-*h-m : a-?-ir : k-a-n mi-r-a-u-t;* 'by my great god, he hath ... friend (?) in your presence' (or does this latter phrase belong to the following words ?).

Piecemeal as it is, it seems that we have here, graven on the rock, the record of an invitation to an alliance which was accepted by Tesup-mis (or 'Ariara-nins' as he calls himself, because of his adoption by Araras). The word Ar-u-a-u-t is interesting, as it may possibly be the Aramean tribe which the Assyrians called *Ru'ua* (WAI, i, 37, 44 : 41, 36 : ii, 67, 7) : the place ' *T*(*a*)-*a* ' might be the city Ta-ia-a of the Patinai, mentioned in Shalmaneser's monolith (ii, 11) (see also WAI iii, 9, 44) : and in l. 3 apparently we have the name of a king of Unki ending in -*annas*.

The names Ru'ua, Taia, Unki give probability to the correctness of the reading Panammi, since they are places in the Hittite or Aramean districts : similarly Targu-ras, who occurs on Carchemish inscriptions, and Nist (of the Mar'ash texts), add their evidence.

(F) The Royal Name at Boghaz Keui.

M xxvii–xxviii. The hieroglyphs, containing the king's name and titles (xxviii, 1–3 : Emir Ghazi, M 1, 5) are difficult to identify : xxviii, 1 clearly begins with the name of a god (most probably the sun), a figure, probably of the god, standing on what must be the sign *t*(*a*) (it is fairly clear in the photograph which I took, *PSBA.*, xxxii, 1910, 240) : on either side of this are what must be the sign *n* standing on what is certainly *ar*. Outside these are the groups for 'lord of chiefs,' the whole group being paralleled by Rams., where the king's name ' Un(?)-?-tal-s, lord of chiefs,' is spelt in much the same way, with Tesup written large above, and 'lord of chiefs' on both flanks.[1] In the Boghaz Keui name the god's name of 1 is represented apparently by the god-sign in 2, and hence the name may possibly be read ' Sun-god-*t*(*a*)-*n-ar*'. It would be reasonable to expect this name to coincide with one of the great kings of Boghaz Keui when its power was at its height in the fourteenth century : and of these we know Subbiluliuma (Sapalulu), Mursil (Maurasar), Muwtallu (Mautenel(r)), Hattusil (Khetasar), Dudhalia, Arnuanta. The most similar of these is Muwtallu, when spelt in the Egyptian way, Mautener, which would give rise to several problems if the identity were maintained. The arguments against would be (1) that Mautener is the Egyptian form of a name which those Hittites of the fourteenth century who understood cuneiform wrote *Mu-w-at-ta-al-li* (W 43), which the Assyrians in the ninth century still wrote Mutallu, the Hittite hieroglyphs of that period showing *Mu-tal;* (or *Mu-tal-w*),[2] a difference from the Boghaz Keui

---

[1] In this latter case, however, the variants (the name is written five times) show that the name Tesup has no share in the name.

[2] The seal M xlii, 5 is proof that Mutallu of Gurgum spelt his own name Mu-tal, and that it is not merely the error of a foreigner such as Benhadad.

form; (2) that *Muw* has not yet been found as an important Hittite god, and particularly the Sun: (3) as yet the characters, being different from the ordinary forms, are uncertain in identification. On the other hand there are certain arguments in favour: (1) that it is probable that it is one of the six names quoted, and Mautenel(r) at first sight is the most likely: (2) that nearly five centuries have elapsed between *Mu-w-at-ta-al-li* of Boghaz Keui and Mutallu of Gurgum.

(G) THE SCULPTURE AT FRAKTIN.

M xxx. Two royal figures making offerings at the altars of their gods. In *A* the god is simply labelled 'god', and the worshipper 'lord of chiefs "?, lord of chiefs'; in *B* the god is called 'great (plural) god' and the worshipper's name reads '*Ma*(?)-*t*(*a*)-*n-r*, lord of chiefs', which makes it probable that the name is the same as the royal name at Boghaz Keui, and hence we should see in the first doubtful character the equivalent for the god's name forming part of the afore-mentioned king's name (cf. p. 135, no. 2, and pl. XLVII, Garstang, *Land of the Hittites*).

The inscription (*C*), as has been discussed in § 92, runs, as I read it, *Hat*(?)-*m*(*w*)-*zi*-'country' 'ally'-*e*(?) *ar-mi* 'With Hatti (Hat-w)-land I have joined alliance'.

(H) HITTITE SEALS AND IMPRESSIONS.

M xxxix, 3, 7, 8, 9. The reading is ' Palace *Tesup-r-nis*: the termination -*nis* probably indicates the genitive, the nominative being Tesup-ras, analogous to Targu-ras. Nos. 2-9 were found by Layard in Sennacherib's palace at Kuyunjik. 6. *Tesup-san-s* 'Tesup-is-king'. 10 (also from Nineveh). 'God'-*Targu*. Either this is an abbreviation for some king's name beginning with Targu, or we may compare the description of the silver tablet of the treaty of Rameses with Khetasar whereon were impressed the seals of Ra and Sutekh.

M xl (all of which were bought in Constantinople, having been brought from the interior of Asia Minor). 2 reads either *Nis-Tesup*, *Tesup-Nis* ('Son of Tesup'), or *H-Tesup* ('Great is Tesup'), 'the great lord'. For the last name see § 36, *note*. 6. *Tesup-hat*(?)-*san* ('Tesup, friend of the king'). 11, 15, 16 read apparently *S-k*. 10, 12 apparently the same: 12 reads 'Lord-?-*t*, lord of the land' (the crooked hieroglyph cannot be *nis*, making the name Nist?). In 17 the name begins with Tesup, in 18 the same doubtful character occurs as in 2.

M xli, 1. Targašnalli, § 11. 2. A king on the right beneath the winged disc, and the group which Professor Sayce, I think erroneously, identified with

Isḫara. In front of the god the inscription 'Seal (?) of Am- . .' See note to M xlv, 8.

M xlii, 1. Apparently inscribed *r-s-mi* ... which would almost lead us to think that *r-s-mi* meant 'I have signed' rather than 'I have joined' (p. 107). 5. 'Mutallu of Gurgum', § 31. 9 is that difficult bilingual, the so-called 'Tarkondemos Boss'. The cuneiform runs

$$Me\text{-}e \ ^m Tar\text{-}gas\text{-}sa\text{-}\left\{\begin{matrix} as(?)\text{-}ni(?) \\ ti(?) \end{matrix}\right\}\text{-}wi \ sar \ m\hat{a}ti \ ali$$

('I am T., king of country-city'). ⋈ is a possible equivalent of the ⋈ of the tablets. Professor Sayce suggested that the goat's head might be compared to τράγος, and read thus so as to form the equivalent of the first part of the cuneiform. It must be noticed that this head may be distinct from that of the ibex head *as*. A possible reading of the hieroglyphs is *Lal*(?) *"Targu*(?)-*san-t*(*a*) 'country' 'lord' = 'Seal (?) of Targu-santa, lord of the land'.

M xliii, 7 looks much as if it were *Lal*(?) *".Mu-tal* *"Gu-gu-'m-nis-*' country' 'Seal (?) of Mutal of Gurgum'. On 8, obv., are the sun-god, Targu, and an ideogram for a god, which may or may not be the sun, descriptive of the winged figure; if it is, then we have the hieroglyph for the sun-god. The rev. bears a name *B*(*a*)-*n*(*a*)-*s* ?

M xlv, 8. The bilingual of Indilimma. The cuneiform reads 'Indilimma (Indišima), the son of $\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{Sin-ni-iš-mu} \\ \text{Še-ir-da-mu} \end{matrix}\right\}$, the servant of Isḫara' (the reading Šer-damu is due to Professor Sayce, *PSBA.*, xxv., 1903, 143). The four Hittite hieroglyphs presumably are the equivalent of some part of the cuneiform: the two ⛾ △ form a group which occurs near the king on M xli, 2: round the inner ring of xliii, 2, 4: after the name, *ibid.*, 6. The first character of this pair does not, as far as I know, occur in the form which M xlv, 8 gives it, away from the seals; the second occurs in the published texts M xi, 3: xii, 5 (a chief's name?): the chief's name *A-?-mi-s* xvi, B: xxi, 2: xxxii, 5 (*a-?-ir*): xxxiii, 4 (*a-?*): liii. On the seals it is difficult to distinguish, and in some cases there is no distinction between it and the sign for 'lord' or 'country'.

I can only offer a few suggestions for the remaining texts in M. M liii from Nigdeh runs *mi-' M-?-na s-r*(?)-*a ḥ nis n-m-n-an te*(?) *r-s-mu nis.* 'I am M-?-na, son of Sra (?) the chief: our covenant . . I (?) have joined (?). .' is possible. For *Sra ḥ nis* see M xlvi, from Karaburna, which mentions the
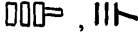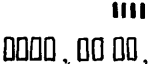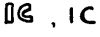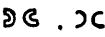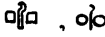
group often (as well as (l. 1)(?), and the 'flame'-ideograph (l. 2) for a chief's name, which occurs in TA). Apparently it begins *Mi-' e-ḫ-nas-mi* (for this second word see the Hamath texts), and the unusual group, about the fourth word, occurs in M lii. The text from Ekrek (M xxxi) runs (1) *"Tesup-a-n-nis "Tesup-mi-'m-nis Kar-san-s* : ' ally' *:-ḫ b(a)-a-mi-s : a-k-u te(?)-r-nis : "Al-r-s ḫu-n-nas Kat-k nas-am-mi : te(?)-r : mi-t(a) : e nin* ... (l. 2) ... *a-?* ' Tesup-annis (?), Tesup-mimnis (= Tesup-amminis ?), Karsanas, Make alliance with me : they have come ...' (see § 65). M xlviii from Erzerum (?) mentions the 'Nine' and *"Gu-g-nis*, which is to be compared to the writer of the Bogtcha stone *"Gu-g-n-nis* (*PSBA.*, xxxii, 1910, 173).

The stone from Kellekli (Hogarth, *Liv. Annals*, ii. 172) shows the name *Gu-am* (Giammu), l. 2, and possibly ' Lal(?)-li(?) of Ta-bal(?)', l. 3.

I shall consider myself fortunate if only a part of this decipherment proves to be correct; and if any of it ultimately appears to be of value I would connect it with the memory of my father, Reginald E. Thompson, M.D., who, almost until the day of his death, took a lively interest in the progress of the work. To the kindness of Sir F. G. Kenyon, K.C.B., D.Litt., Director of the British Museum, I am much indebted, both for the many facilities which he has granted me, and for the encouragement which his interest in the work has given.

A LIST OF HITTITE SIGNS

I append a list of signs with references to the evidence for their values. It does not pretend to be complete, and the Sanskrit words from Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch* are added merely as suggestions.

1.   'One' (TA 3, &c.): the mark of personal or place-names, either as a separate character, or affixed to some part of one of the characters in the form of a tang, § 17. It is not indispensable for names.

2.   *MA*: 'lord', as ideogram in phrase 'lord of lands', § 44 (the third finger: cf. Skr. *mah* 'great').

3.   *MU* (from 2): from name *Mu-tal;*, § 31, and as suffix 1st sing., §§ 42, 43.

4.   *SAN* 'to make', § 74: value from *San-gar-s*, § 3 (= cuneiform *san*?) = 'king', § 52: possibly interchanging with *s(?)-an*, § 52, *note*. (Zend *zan* 'create', and cf. 'king' from same root).

4 A.   No. 4 with a tang (M. xlii, 9).

5.   'Nine': apparently referring to some nine who formed a league ?, § 35.

6.   Word-divider (§ 1 *note*).

7.   *Ḥ* (= , § 15) 'great', 'chief', §§ 35, 49: value from causative formation, § 37, and *hu-u-wa-an*, § 36: verb, § 70.

8.   See § 1, *note* (Sayce ultimately, *PSBA.*, xxvii, 1905, 247, det. of ideographs). I am inclined to see a *w* in this character: see notes to translation of M v, p. 115.

9.   ?: see §§ 7, 70, and p. 126.

10.   *A* or breathing: value from augment in verbs, §§ 45, 70, *T(a)-a-n(a)* (= Tyana, Dana), § 1, *note*: *K-a-k*, § 87: *K-r-a*, § 35.

10 A.   *A* + tang, apparently not *AU* (from *A-r-ar-as*, § 12, and *a-san-n-zi*, § 70).

11.   *Ḥ* (= , § 15), 'great', 'chief', §§ 35, 49: value from causative formation, § 37, and *hu-u-wa-an*, § 36: verb, § 70. (Originally 'water?', cf. Skr. *khá* 'spring'.)

12.   *N*: value from phonetic complement to Sangar, § 3: from *k-n*, § 7: 1st plur. suffix, § 58: verbal term *-n-zi*, §§ 37, 69: accus. in *-n*, cf. M ii.

12 A.   *N* with a tang, apparently *NU*?, § 37 *note*.

13.   *NI*: value from *Ar-hu-li-ni* varying with *Ir-hu-li-n(a)*, § 12, 1st pers. plur. suffix, § 58, and from No. 12.

14.

M, W: value from 1st sing. suffix, § 58: from *Gar-k-m*(?)*-s*, § 4: *Ninw*, § 51, and from No. 15. (Original meaning uncertain.)

15.

MI, WI: value from *Ka-r-k-mi-s*, § 6: *mi-'*, § 6: *Mi-zi-ir*, § 37: *Ninwi*, § 51. 1st sing. suffix, § 58: verbal ending, § 69.

15 A.
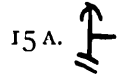
MI with tang, occurs M xxi, 2: xlvi, 2.

16.

KAT: value from *Kat-t-e*, § 60: *Kat-n-a-u-t*, § 60: and pronom. base *kat-* in *kat-mi*, &c., § 61. (Originally a spear(?); or perhaps a firestick with socket (?), Indog. *k'ed* 'kindle'.)

16 A.

No. 16 with a tang, M lii, 5.

17.

LI: value from *Ir-hu-li-n*(a), § 11: *Targa-s-n*(a)*-a-li*, § 11: *Gar-a-li*, § 11: *Mut-tal-li*, § 44: *Lal*(?)*-li*, § 50. (Originally 'knife', Skr. *lu* 'cut').

18.

N(*A*): value from *T*(a)*-a-n*(a) (Tyana), § 1, *note*: from accus., § 64: name *Ir-hu-li-n*(a), § 9: *Targa-s-n*(a)*-a-li*, § 11: verbal 1st plur. termination, § 69.

19.

'son', *NIS*: value from variants *ni-s*, § 15: 'son', § 65.

19 A.

No. 19 with tang (§ 49).

20.

'Son', probably long form of No. 19, § 73. (Perhaps 'phallus'.)

21.

NIN: accus. of 'son': varying with *ni-ni*, § 50, and found in names *Nin-n-s*, *Nin-wi*, *Nin-w*, § 50, 51. · Phonetic complement *n* before or after, § 51.

22.

ZI: value from postpositive preposition, § 37, *note*: verbal 3rd plur. termination *-n-zi*, § 37: place-name *Mi-zi-ir* = *Muzri*, § 37, *note*.

23.
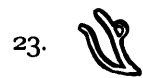
xxi, 5, read No. 83 or No. 84, badly copied: the cast of the monument shows it fairly certainly.

24.

T(*A*): value from 2nd sing. suffix, § 46: 3rd sing. verbal termination in perfect, § 45: prep. *t*(a)*-a*, § 80: place-name *T*(a)*-bal*, § 80.

25.

T-E 'to say', §§ 46, 48.

26.
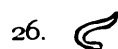
Numeral (?) probably 100 (M viii, 3, § 1, *note*).

27.   Numeral (?) probably 10 (M viii, 3, § 1, *note*).

28.   § 52.

29.   TA 5.

30.   Occurs as chief's name (?), M xi, 4, 5 : xlvi, 2 ; TA 4, 5, 7.

31.   New Jerabis.

32.   *S* marks nominative, §§ 1, *note*, 64.   (Originally a cord, cf. Skr. *si* 'bind'.)

33.   *ḤU* (or perhaps *Ḥ* + some other vowel), value from *Ir-ḫu-li-na*, § 12, *Ḥu-nᵘ*, § 37, *note*, and the plural of *ḫ*, No. 11, § 38.

33 A.   No. 33 with a tang, § 38.

33 B.   'lord of chiefs', §§ 38, 50, *note*, and also other compounds.

34.   § 33, *note*.

35.   *AR* from *Ar-ḫu-li-ni*, § 12 ; *A-r-ar-a-s*, § 12 : *Ar-am-mi*, §§ 30, 35.

35 A.   No. 35 with a tang, § 55, M i, 1.   (Possibly the former is not.)

36.   *MAN* (?), from *Sul*(?)-*man*(?), § 51.   Cf. § 55.

37.   *T(A)* 'to give' : from *T(a)-a-n(a)* = Tyana, § 1, *note* (properly No. 37 A) : *Am-ṭ(a)* = Hamath, § 16 : -*n*-ṭ(a), § 79.   (ṭ(a) 'give' = Skr. *dâ*.)

37 A.   No. 37 with a tang, M ii, 1 : xxxiii, 1.

38.   See note to § 44 and p. 126.

39.   *NAS*, variant of *N-S*, *N-AS*, § 50, *note*.

39 A.   No. 39 with a tang, M xlviii, 3.

40.   *R* : for evidence see § 9 (a pot : cf. Skr. *ri* 'pour').

41.   Ideogram for a 'bowl', § 1, *note*.

42.   *TAL* : from *Mu-tal;*, § 31 (on the first of these, see § 44).

42 A.   No. 42 with a tang, § 44.

43.   § 55.

44.   *HI* (value from the name *Bar-hi*, and formation of causative), §§ 38, 73 (a pot (?)). cf. Skr. *hu* 'pour (an offering)').

45.   § 73.

46.   New Jerabis.

47.   *ID* or *IZ* ? only in the name of Benhadad, § 33, *note* : cf., however, M, xliii, 6.

48.   *GAR*, *KAR* (from *San-gar-s*, *Gar-k-m-s*, *Gar-a-li*, §§ 3, 11). See § 74, *note*. (Cf. *Kar-b(a)-* .. (?)-*ni* (M xxi, 4), with Karparunda of Patina (Shalm. Ob., reliefs)).

49.   The sun-god (?), from the seal, M xliii, 8, see § 52, *note*. Variant probably § 52 (5).

50.   See M xlv, 8, and translation, p. 133
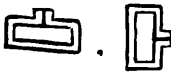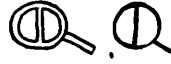
51.   Used in spelling a chief's name, § 82 (6),M xi, 5.

52.   Ideogram for a 'throne', M xxi, 4, lii, 5.

53.   *SUL* (?) : a god's name, §§ 51, 55.

54.   'Table', § 33, *note*.

55. 'Altar'?, § 82.

56. 'House'. (Possibly -R in some form: see §§ 18, *note*, 44, *note*)

57. Used in spelling a chief's name, § 82 (6): ideogram used to describe part of a construction or building, M ii, 4.

57 A. No. 57 with a tang, M xi, 2.

58. 'Shrine (?)', M ii, 6.

59. See §§ 43, 52: ideogram used to describe part of a construction or building, M ii, 3.

60. *E*, from *e-a*, § 47: plurals, §§ 46, 64: case-ending of names, § 46.

60 A. No. 60 with a tang, M iii, B, 2: iv, A, B, 2: xlvi, 1.

61. *KA*, from *Ka-r-k-mi-s*, *N-ka*, §§ 5, 8.

62. Determinative for 'god', § 1, *note*.

63. Ideogram for 'brother', §§ 38, 69: varies with 'ally', § 34 (2). (Probably 'uterus'.)

64. TA 3.

65. *GU*, from *Gu-gu-'m* (Gurgum), *Gu-am* (Giammu), § 29.

65 A. No. 65 with a tang (in name *Gu-gu-'m*, § 29, *Gu-g-(n)-nis*, p. 134).

66. Apparently omitted or inserted at will in two gods' names, §§ 7, *note*, 54, *note*.

66 A. No. 66 with a tang, M iii, B, 2.

67. Forms part of a proper name on a new Jerabis inscription.

68. Ideogram for 'blood brotherhood', §§ 32, 42.

69.   Ideogram for 'feast' (?), p. 121.

70.   'Scribe writing', § 74.

71.   Ideogram for 'to speak', §§ 9, 33, 69.
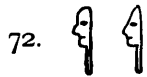
72.   *PAN* ('face') from *Pan-am-mi*, § 28 (see § 56) in composition : [*TE* (?)=] 'to say': with *hi* probably *TE-HI*, § 73 : name of a place (?), § 48 (4).

72 A.   No. 72 with a tang, M ii, 3 : ix, 1 : xi, 2, &c.

73.   § 73.
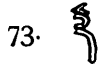
74.   Ideogram for 'to swear?', § 35.
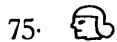
75.   *BAR* from *Bar-hi* = Bar-Hayâ, and *Br-k* as a variant of *B-r-k* ?, §§ 38, 73 = 'man' or 'chief' (if borrowed Aramaic = son, §§ 34 (4), 73).   (Skr. *vírá* 'man'.)
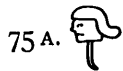
75 A.   No. 75 with a tang, p. 76.
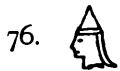
76.   Ideogram for 'chief', p. 52, *note* 3.

77.   Ideogram for 'ally', §§ 14 ff., 32 ff., § 37.

78.   *AN* 'to place ?', 1st pl. suffix, §§ 32, *note*, 58, 68, *note*, 70.

78 A.   Abbreviation for No. 78, § 68, *note*.

79.   Ideogram for 'to take', § 32, *note*.

80.   Ideogram for 'hostile'; 'to fight' (with ⤷), § 32 and p. 118: syllabic value, § 73.

81.   Ideogram for 'to engrave (write)', §§ 32, 69.

82. Ideogram for 'blood brotherhood', § 32.

83. HAT(?), § 92: 'ally', § 67, *note*.

84. Same as ⊜ § 34 (1), distinct (?) from No. 85.

85. See § 37.

86. MUT, from the name $Mut\text{-}tal\text{-}li$, §§ 44, 79.

86 A. Perhaps same as No. 86, M xxiii, 2, 3.

87. Same as No. 81

88. Ideogram for 'leg' ('base ?'), §§ 18, 64: syllabic value, § 67: used in chief's name, M xvi, A, 1: xix, 1, 3: TA 4.

88 A. No. 88 with a tang, § 18.

89. Ideogram for 'to run ?', M xi, 4 (§ 1, *note*).

90. Used in a god's name, M xxix, 11: see M iii, A, 1.

91. G, K 'to come', value from $San(n)\text{-}(g)gar\text{-}s$, § 3: $k\text{-}n$, § 7: $Ka\text{-}r\text{-}k\text{-}mi\text{-}s$, § 5: $K\text{-}as\text{-}k$, § 35: $K\text{-}r\text{-}a$, § 35: $K\text{-}a\text{-}k$, § 7, *note*: $U\text{-}'m\text{-}k$, § 52 (5). (A foot; Ved. $g\hat{a}$, 'to go', 'come'.)

92. Ideogram for 'to go', § 70.

93. M lii, 3.

94. $B(A)$, §§ 15, 40.

95. IR, § 15: from $Ir\text{-}hu\text{-}li\text{-}na$, § 10: verbal termination, § 10: $As\text{-}ir$, § 51 : *note*, § 11.

95 A. No. 95 with a tang, § 10.

96. *AM*, *'M* ('*W*), from *Am-t(a)*, § 13: *Pan-am-mi*, § 28: *Gu-am* (Giammu), § 29: *Ar-am-mi*, § 30: *Gu-gu-'m* (Gurgum), § 29: *U-'m-k*, § 52. (Ram's head; Skr. *ávi* 'sheep').

97. *U*, see § 49, *note*, and § 77.

97 A. No. 97 with a tang, M v, 2: vi, 4.

98. M ix, 3: x, 4.

99. *AS*, variant of *s* in composition: value from *K-as-k*, *As-ir*, *As-r-a*, § 29, *note*. (Ibex' head: Skr. *ajá* 'he goat'.) (Is the animal's head on the 'Boss of Tarkondemos' not an ibex, but a goat?)

100. Hare, used in spelling a chief's name, M xix, 7: M xxi, 1 (?), 3, 5: xlvi, 1: TA 4, 5.

101. Used in spelling the name of the god Targu, § 11 (value *TAR*(?).

101 A. No. 101 with a tang, § 18. Used in spelling a chief's name, M xvi, A, 1, and a new Jerabis inscription.

102. *BAL*, from *T(a)-bal-*' place', § 50. (Horn with tang.)
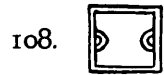
103. M v, 3 (?): TA 7.

104. Postpositive determinative for 'country', 'city'.

105. Postpositive determinative for 'country', 'city', §§ 1, 44, *notes*.

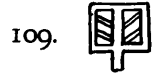106. Ideogram for 'lord', § 1, *note*, § 34 (5), § 44, *note*.

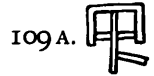107. See translation to M xlv, 8, p. 133.

108. Ideogram probably for 'tablet' or 'stela': see translation to M ix, *notes*, p. 119.
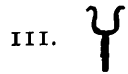
109. Used in spelling a personal name, M x, 2; and a new Jerabis inscription.
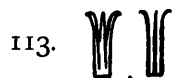
109 A. No. 109 with a tang, M xi, 4.

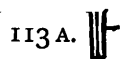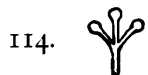110. Ideogram for the god Tesup (lightning?), §§ 1, 33, *notes*

111. M ii, 5.

112. Ideogram for 'tree', 'wood', § 1, *note*, M ii, 3: xxxiii, 3.
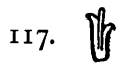
113. Possibly *UN*, § 71, *note*.

113 A. No. 113 with a tang, § 73.

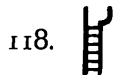114. § 64, *note*: syllabic value, § 67.

115. In a chief's name, § 67 (in a new Jerabis text, and M xv, B, 4); cf. M xxix, 13.
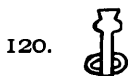
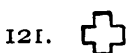116. M xxxii, 5; TA 2 (used in a god's name).

117. § 73.

118. Possibly No. 104, M ii, 3, 4.

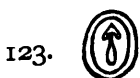119. *LAL* (?) (or *LA* ?), value from *Lal* (?)-*li* (?), § 50 (='seal'?, see translation to M xvi, A, p. 112).

120. M xi, 3.

121. M ix, 4: x, 6.

122. Ideogram for 'ancestors', § 50 (grave shaft and coffin (?)).

123. M xii, 3, 2.

124.   In composition, M v, 2 : vi, 4 : xxiv, A : lii, 3, 4.

125.   M vi, 4, 5.

126.   M viii, B, 2.

127.   M ii, 6 : xix, 20 : xlvi, 3.